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JPRS L/9487

15 January 1981

USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

(FOUO 2/81)

Roundtable on Nationalities Problems and Policy



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USSR REPORT
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ROUNDTABLE ON NATIONALITIES PROBLEMS AND POLICY

Moscow ISTORIYA SSSR in Russian No 6, 1980 pp 23-83

[Roundtable discussion: "Toward the 26th CPSU Congress: Formation and Development of a Historically New Community--the Soviet People"]

CONTENTS

Introduction, by Academician Yu. V. Bromley	2
Basic Laws Governing Formation and Development of a Historically New Community--the Soviet People, by M. I. Kulichenko	5
Discussion	
M. P. Kim	29
Yu. V. Bromley	32
A. I. Kholmogorov	33
A. F. Dashdamirov	37
G. I. Zimanas	41
V. P. Sherstobitov	47
E. V. Tadevosyan	51
I. B. Berkhin	57
V. S. Semenov	59
L. M. Drobizheva	62
M. N. Guboglo	64
From the Editors	68

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Defining the most important directions for development of scientific research in the social sciences, the 25th CPSU Congress indicated the need "for studying the theoretical problems of developed socialism, the laws of its transformation into communism, and the mechanism of their action and utilization."*

Formation and development of a historically new community--the Soviet people--is one of the most important problems of mature socialist society in our country. A round table sponsored by the editor's office of this journal jointly with the Scientific Council for Nationalities Problems, Social Sciences Section, USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium was devoted to its discussion on 19 December 1979.

After considering the extent to which this problem has been studied, the editor's office suggested a number of issues for discussion, central among which was the fundamental laws governing formation and development of a historically new community--the Soviet people. M. I. Kulichenko prepared a report on this topic.

Representatives of different social sciences studying the historically new community--philosophers, historians, ethnographers--took part in the discussion.**

The discussion was opened by USSR Academy of Sciences Corresponding Member I. D. Koval'chenko, editor in chief of the journal ISTORIYA SSSR. The discussion was moderated by Academician Yu. V. Bromley, chairman of the Scientific Council for Nationalities Problems, Social Sciences Section, Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

The proceedings of the round table are published below.

* "Materialy XXV s"yezda KPSS" [Proceedings of the 25th CPSU Congress], Moscow, 1977, p 214.

**A number of comrades who were unable to attend the discussion sent texts of their statements: G. O. Zimanas, editor in chief of the Lithuanian SSR Communist Party Central Committee journal KOMMUNIST; V. S. Semonov, editor in chief of the journal VOPROSY FILOSOFII; M. N. Guboglo.

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INTRODUCTION
Academician Yu. V. Bromley

Our round-table discussion is devoted to an extremely important problem--"Formation and Development of the Soviet People as a Historically New Community". As we know, real socialism has shown itself to all the world as a model of harmonious development and blossoming of nations, a model of truly humanitarian resolution of the nationalities issue, this most sensitive issue of mankind's history. It is no accident that it was mainly in the first socialist state, in the earth's first society of developed socialism that an international community of a new social essence--the Soviet people--evolved. Formation and development of this community in our country is an achievement of socialism, one carrying a tremendous ideological charge. The Soviet experience of resolving the nationalities issue consequently requires more-substantial analysis and publicity. It follows from this experience that socialism means internationalism, it means friendship and solidarity of peoples, it means bringing nations closer together at the peak of their development. And in light of the CPSU Central Committee decree on ideological issues, we must intensify our work and publicity on the premise that socialism represents a national world and national cooperation as substitutes for national isolation, enmity, and war generated by the bourgeois way of life. We are also encouraged to do so by the CPSU Central Committee decree "On the 110th Anniversary of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin's Birth", which lays special emphasis on the significance of embodying Lenin's principles of proletarian socialist internationalism within the party.

Our social scientists did much in recent years to study the Soviet people as a historically new community. Historians have doubtlessly made a significant contribution to this. However, far from all aspects of the problem have been sufficiently developed and, moreover, there is still much that is debatable in their illumination. This was recently demonstrated once again by review articles on the problems of the historically new community in Soviet historiography, published in the journal VOPROSY ISTORII (No 4, 1979), and by the collective works "Osnovnyye napravleniya izucheniya natsional'nykh protsessov v SSSR" [Basic Directions of Research on National Processes in the USSR] (Moscow, 1979).

The status of historical research on the issue was doubtlessly considered when the editorial board of the journal ISTORIYA SSSR tentatively proposed the following set of issues:

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the basic laws governing development of the Soviet people as a historically new community (M. I. Kulichenko prepared a special report on this topic; it will serve as the starting point for our discussion);

growth of the role of the Soviet people as a society undergoing communist development;

internationalization of society in the USSR;

consolidation of the whole people's character of the Soviet state and development of a historically new community;

changes in the social class structure of the society, and the progress of the historically new community;

development of the self-consciousness of the Soviet people as a historically new community.

It stands to reason that this is only the most tentative list of issues, one that could hardly cover the topic of interest to us fully. We may quite well name a number of other important problems requiring our attention. In this connection we cannot but welcome the participation of representatives of contiguous disciplines, philosophers and lawyers in particular, in this discussion.

Integrated, systemic examination of the phenomenon of interest to us is extremely important in general. Of course, this systems approach cannot at all be boiled down to simple categorization of all that has been done in the effort to study the Soviet people. As we know, this approach presupposes, first of all, revelation of the mutual relationship existing among individual components of the phenomenon under analysis. And this is extremely important, since the Soviet people are not a simple sum of certain properties and characteristics, but rather they are a single whole, the individual components of which interact. Willingly or not, when we analyze this problem as specialists we often break this single whole down. As an example we believe it significant to penetrate more deeply into the dialectics of the relationship between that which is international and that which is national in Soviet society, into the mutual relationships existing among its components, such as social structure and anti-Soviet culture, and so on.

As we know, every system is hierarchical, with all of its elements subordinated in a certain way. I think that this has a direct bearing on the topic of our discussion. It would be no less significant to determine the mutual relationship existing between a system and its environment--that is, to discriminate the factors existing as the prerequisites of its operation, and its immediate characteristics and properties. It would also be important to compare the system of interest to us, "the Soviet people", with other systems kindred to it, such as "Soviet society" and "the Soviet way of life". In other words we must define the relationship existing between the corresponding concepts, mainly in an effort to "divorce" them, since we often use them (especially the first two) as synonyms, which in many ways makes the very use of different terms meaningless.

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In order to reveal the typical, regularly encountered traits of any system, it would naturally be very important for us to compare the system with similar systems, to subject them to comparative-typological analysis. The following question unavoidably arises in this connection: Are there analogs of the systems of interest to us, and if there are none, where would we most likely expect their arisal? There is also another problem: We usually do everything we can to emphasize the specific, unique nature of the historically new community, but do we not consequently understate the universal significance of this community, the universal and natural arisal of both itself and formations of its kind?

Every system is an element of another larger system, a system at a taxonomically higher level. The question as to the relationship between formation and development of the Soviet people on one hand and integrative processes occurring within the system of countries in the socialist fraternity on the other is also unavoidable in this connection.

The Soviet people are a dynamic system that changes with time. And naturally, the very process of this system's formation and development requires attention. However, researchers do not seem sufficiently agreed yet as to the relationship this process has to time.

Finally, it would appear very important to examine the phenomenon of interest to us within the context of world history. Only such an examination would permit us to fully reveal the laws governing arisal of the Soviet people as a historically new community, and the place and significance of this community on the road to the future unity of mankind.

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BASIC LAWS GOVERNING FORMATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF A
HISTORICALLY NEW COMMUNITY--THE SOVIET PEOPLE
M. I. Kulichenko

The most important distinguishing characteristics of mature socialist society in the USSR include full freedom of action of its laws, the advantages revealed in all spheres of life, the organic integrity and dynamic nature of the social system, its political stability, and inviolable unity. The evolution of these characteristics can be traced most clearly in the formation and development of the Soviet people as a historically new community. The methods we have today for gaining an understanding of all aspects of life and mutual relationships among classes, social groups, nations, and nationalities, and the entire society's progress require recognition of the fact that a new community has arisen, that it is now functioning, and that it will continue to progress. The accountability report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 25th CPSU Congress stated: "Our basic premise has been and continues to be that a historically new community has evolved here--the Soviet people, representing an inviolable union of the working class, the peasantry, and the intelligentsia led by the working class, and friendship among all of the country's nations and nationalities."¹ This premise has especially great significance to analysis of the historically new community's development.

The study of the Soviet people as a historically new community is proceeding in an area of overlap of several sciences--mainly history, philosophy, and scientific communism. Inasmuch as the Soviet people are a community having a past, present, and future, historians study the stages of its formation, function, and development, the associated processes and phenomena, and the role of the laboring masses. Philosophers analyze the theoretical aspects of the essence of the historically new community, and the methodological criteria of its study.

I wrote an article entitled "Formation and Development of the Soviet People as a Historically New Community" devoted to research on the essence of the new society, and to the stages of its formation and development (VOPROSY ISTORII, No 4, 1979). This report is an attempt to generalize the experience of research on a new aspect of the problem--the laws governing formation and development of the historically new community. These laws are naturally interpreted to be an inherent part of a single system of laws responsible for development of all Soviet society.

Soviet scholars studying the laws governing arisal and development of the historically new community rely upon fundamental documents of the Communist Party, mainly

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its Program, decisions of the 24th and 25th CPSU congresses, CPSU Central Committee decrees, and works written by CPSU Central Committee General Secretary, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet L. I. Brezhnev. It should be made plain in this regard that while the tasks associated with revealing the essence of the Soviet people, the phases of their development, and their social role have basically been illuminated in the literature, for practical purposes we have only just begun defining the laws governing the new community's formation and development. The premises contained in party documents and the conclusions of scientists are the foundation for further work on this extremely important problem. We must of course admit that the views different scientists hold on the laws governing formation and development are sometimes contradictory and, most importantly, that an adequate systems approach has not yet been applied to these views: For the moment, we are still seeking the correct criteria of analysis.

Defining the criteria of analysis is central and fundamental to research on this problem. Analyzing formation and operation of history's new Community, Soviet scientists have already noted a direct tie between these processes and manifestation of other laws of our society's development, of the development of all world socialism. Thus P. N. Fedoseyev posed a question extremely important to the theory of scientific communism and to practical affirmation of the new formation: "To what extent have the general laws and trends of socialist and communist development reflected themselves in the historical experience of formation of the Soviet people as a form of consolidation of nations and nationalities inhabiting our country; in particular, what are the unique features in the development and fate of socialist nations in single-nationality states?"² Answering this question, he devoted much attention to revealing the profound dialectics of the gradual wearing away of differences between the basic social groups, and further unification of all nations and nationalities in the USSR. Fedoseyev called these processes the starting point for analysis of the historically new community, ones providing a possibility for demonstrating the fundamental difference existing between socialist internationalization and internationalization of life in capitalism.

This report will examine the following issues: the description, contained in CPSU documents and in works by Soviet scholars, of the objective principles governing formation and development of the Soviet people as a community, the system of laws governing the historically new community's operation and progress.

* * *

For practical purposes, research on the laws governing formation and development of the Soviet people as a historically new community did not begin until the early 1970's. The first reference to the objective basis of these processes was contained in the proceedings of the 24th CPSU Congress: "In the years of socialist development in our country, a historically new community of people arose--the Soviet people. New, harmonious relations between classes and social groups, and between nations and nationalities--relations of friendship and cooperation--were born in joint labor, in the struggle for socialism, in the battles in its defense."³ The CPSU Central Committee decree on preparations for celebration of the 50th anniversary of the USSR, adopted 16 February 1972, emphasized the inevitability of arising of a new community--the Soviet people--in the course of development of socialism and communism in the USSR. "It was formed," the decree states, "on the basis of public ownership of the

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means of production, and unity of economic, sociopolitical, and cultural life, Marxist-Leninist ideology, and the interests and communist ideals of the working class."⁴ The premise contained in the decree that "the closest unity, full blossoming, and continuous growing together of all nations and nationalities of the Soviet Union are the product of the nature of our structure, representing an objective law of socialism's development"⁵ also has a direct relationship to the laws governing development of the new community. In his report on the 50th anniversary of the USSR, L. I. Brezhnev emphasized that arising of the historically new community is the result of profound and all-embracing changes in all spheres of life, that it is "a unique sort of general result of those economic and sociopolitical alterations which our country underwent in half a century."⁶

Researchers followed different roads in their effort to determine the laws governing formation of the historically new community and its progress: Some concentrated their attention on a general description, on the elements in common between the laws of all society and of the historically new community; others tried to distinguish laws specific to the Soviet people; a third group--contained within the latter--described the laws governing formation of the new community, and a fourth group concentrated on the laws of its development.

Works by Academician M. P. Kim made a significant contribution to the general description of the laws governing formation and development of the Soviet people as a historically new community: "The Soviet People--a Historically New Community," "The Soviet People--a Socialist Community of Laborers" and, among others, the collective monograph, prepared under his guidance, "Sovetskiy narod--novaya istoricheskaya obshchnost' lyudey" [The Soviet People--a Historically New Community of People] (Moscow, 1975). There is much significance in particular in the scholar's conclusion that arising and development of the Soviet people is "the first representation of socialist collectivism of people," and that it is "a natural consequence of the victory of the October Revolution and an affirmation of the socialist social structure in the USSR."⁷ Emphasizing that social and class factors played the leading role in formation of the new community, with national and international factors playing a subsidiary role, M. P. Kim wrote at the same time that "all progressive trends in the life of nations and in their relations were embodied and enjoy further development..."⁸ in this community.

M. P. Kim was the first in Soviet literature to suggest and fully document the premise that the subjective factor played a somewhat larger role in formation and development of the Soviet people than in formation of nations and determination of their life.⁹ This was also a topic of discussion by USSR Academy of Sciences Corresponding Member Ts. A. Stepanyan, who, describing the role the Soviet people "as the pioneers in creation of a communist formation"¹⁰ and turning his attention to the great role imparted in the literature to the subjective factors in their relationship to the objective factors associated with formation of the historically new community, concurrently stated the thought that it would be impermissible to divorce "the subjective factor from objective laws."¹¹

Basic trends in the development of the Soviet people were noted in other studies: unification of all classes and social groups, nations and nationalities, and all laborers on the basis of socialism, deepening internationalization and embodiment of CPSU policy; further reinforcement of their social and international unity in the process of communist development.¹²

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Describing the role of subjective factors in formation and development of the historically new community in the early 1970's, M. P. Kim and N. S. Shevtsov offered a thorough description of the guiding role played by the CPSU in this process.¹³ The works of the early 1970's emphasized the need for tying in the laws of the historically new community with the laws governing development of our entire socialist society and of mankind in general; they noted that formation and development of the Soviet people is an inherent part and a natural phenomenon of affirmation of socialism and development of communism in the Soviet Union, that the latter's creation has been influenced by the continually growing world trend of breaking down national barriers, gradually erasing national differences, assimilating nations, increasing the power and scope of the whole world revolutionary process, and especially reinforcing and developing cooperation among socialist countries.¹⁴

Also turning his attention to the laws governing formation and development of the Soviet people, A. F. Dashdamirov was one of the first who felt it necessary to separate these laws into three groups: a) improvement of social relations, consolidation of social unity, and development of social homogeneity; b) two trends in national development, the processes of socioeconomic and cultural integration of the society; c) growth of the Soviet state's role in further consolidation of the historically new community.¹⁵ In 1973 I. P. Tsameryan suggested the idea that the laws governing development of the historically new community and of the Soviet multinational state are mutually associated.¹⁶

Practically all researchers who dealt to one extent or another with the laws governing formation and development of the historically new community relied upon the premise stated in the CPSU Program that the common characteristics of nations and nationalities that have already evolved and that are inevitably arising will be reinforced. This is what was said by P. N. Fedoseyev, A. G. Yegorov, M. P. Kim, Yu. V. Bromley, E. A. Bagramov, V. P. Sherstobitov, S. T. Kaltakhchyan, V. I. Zateyev, and other writers. A number of researchers turned a great deal of attention the fact that changes in the relationship between that which is national and that which is international were to be expected. In particular, Zateyev wrote the following on this issue in 1972: "Under the influence of the development of the whole--the Soviet people, and in accordance with their international nature, national groups existing as components, as inherent parts of this whole lose some of their previous traits and acquire new international traits. This is a manifestation of the law of gradual transformation of the national into the international."¹⁷ We could have agreed with this statement, had the author immediately emphasized that on transforming into something international, that which is national does not cease to exist.

There appears to be some merit to M. N. Rosenko's attempts at viewing formation of the Soviet people as the result of the action of the law of general sociology that "the forms of history's communities are the product of the level of development and the nature of the means of production."¹⁸ However, Rosenko feels that "the developmental trends observed in socialist nations and the laws governing development of the Soviet people are simply different aspects of the same process of improvement in national relations within developing communist society."¹⁹ The author obviously arrived at this approach by incorrectly rejecting the concept of the Soviet people as a community based on social and class factors.

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A number of researchers tried to reveal specific laws governing formation and development of the Soviet people as a historically new community. Thus in 1972 L. M. Slavin included, among such laws, growth in social homogeneity, a growing closer of nations, their cooperation, consolidation of the Soviet multinational state and the international foundations of the culture of the Soviet people, spread of Russian language as an international language, reinforcement of the international foundations of the culture of the Soviet people, intensified development of the scientific philosophy of the laborers, and consolidation of general Soviet traits in their psychology. He calls these laws specific to development of the new community, operating in close association with laws such as the fundamental law of economics, the law of planned and proportionate development of the national economy, and so on.²⁰ In principle, the same approach to solving the problem is typical of the point of view of M. S. Dzhunusov and G. A. Mel'nikova. They believe that the new community, arising and existing on the basis of classes, social groups, nations, and nationalities, and being inseparably associated with them, developed and functioned in accordance with intrinsic objective laws such as: friendship among peoples, their socialist cooperation, assistance, and mutual assistance, accelerated mutual enrichment, and unity of social will and action. In this case special emphasis is laid upon friendship among peoples as a law of "formation and development of the Soviet people."²¹ I believe, however, that neither friendship among peoples nor the other above-mentioned factors responsible for formation and development of the historically new community can be viewed as "intrinsic" laws of the Soviet people, since they are in fact an embodiment of the tendency for nations and nationalities to draw together, typical of all society. But being an expression of a high qualitative level of development of national relations, friendship among peoples is simultaneously a prerequisite for and a factor of the formation and development of the historically new community. We can apparently even suggest that friendship among peoples is an aspect of the very essence of this community, of its international unity. Its formation "basically proceeds in conjunction with formation of the Soviet people, but in a number of aspects it does precede formation of the new community, being a prerequisite of such formation."²²

Discussing the question as to whether or not cooperation among peoples of the Soviet Union is a specific law governing development of the historically new community, we should first consider the description given to such cooperation by L. I. Brezhnev: "Perpetual, constantly stronger cooperation among peoples has become a vital prerequisite, an important foundation for erection of a new society in our country."²³

Research by V. S. Semenov on the mutual relationship between the dialectics of the Soviet people's formation and the dialectics of the development of the society's social and natural structures was interesting. Semenov meticulously analyzed growth in the role played by the common traits of classes and nations in acceleration of the new community's formation, and the role played by growing social homogeneity in the new community's development.²⁴

A. I. Kholmogorov made several important observations concerning the laws governing formation and development of the historically new community. In particular he concluded that the arising and function of the Soviet people is "a direct result of internationalization."²⁵ Kholmogorov was the first to isolate psychosocial laws

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from the entire system of laws governing the new community's formation and progress. In 1970-1972 he suggested and substantiated the thesis that formation of the new community's psychology is the most important law governing its development. Kholmogorov also offered an apt treatment of the formation and reinforcement, in the Soviet people, of consciousness and a sense of belonging to the historically new community,²⁶ though isolation of this law as an independent one seems groundless to me.

A number of researchers have revealed that transformation of social consciousness, including arising of international consciousness in the course of formation and development of the new community, is to be expected. However, there have been some disagreements in the interpretation of social consciousness.²⁷ The essence of international consciousness existing as an inherent part of social consciousness has been discussed, as has its role in the historically new community's progress and in education of the new man.²⁸

Researchers have attempted special examinations of the laws governing formation of the historically new community. An all-union scientific conference organized by the USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Special Education was devoted to this question in 1972. Unfortunately this conference was unable to increase, in any significant way, our knowledge on this problem, since the participants did not go beyond the point of recognizing that arising of the Soviet people was to be expected. Only a report by E. A. Bagramov was devoted to this question. He asserted in particular that: "Formation of the Soviet people as a community of historic proportions means, first of all, achievement of social unity of all classes, social groups, nations, and nationalities, which is the natural result of the development of socialism, and which is a fundamentally new trait of social life in developed socialism."²⁹

A number of researchers have turned their attention to the direct tie between formation of the Soviet people and the fundamental social transformations occurring in our country, characterizing them as prerequisites, factors, and so on. Thus G. A. Bat'yan treats transformations occurring in the society's government and its political life, equalization of the developmental conditions enjoyed by the republics, and intensification of the social homogeneity of nations as factors governing formation of the Soviet people.³⁰ "One of the most important laws governing formation of the Soviet people as a historically new community of people," L. M. Slavin wrote in 1972, "was consolidation of nations and nationalities on the basis of socialism."³¹ I. P. Tsamaryan essentially repeated the same idea later on.³² Sometimes, of course, the role of national factors is exaggerated. As an example M. N. Rosenko wrote in 1973 that the Soviet people arose in the course of formation of socialist nations, and evolved as a new community of people when the former process ended; moreover in her opinion "the dialectics of the development of socialist nations--their blossoming and growing together, viewed as a fundamental law of national life under socialism--also simultaneously predetermined the nature of development of the Soviet people."³³

It would be suitable to dwell in greater detail--as a supplement to what was said above--on the way scholars describe the laws governing development of the Soviet people as a historically new community. M. P. Kim wrote that this development

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"marks intensification of the political, economic, cultural, and ideological unity of nations, and more-intensive development of common traits in their spiritual countenance and way of life. This process of integration is proceeding in combination with further development of all nations, making it possible for them to reveal their creative potentials more fully and make an optimum contribution to overall cooperation."³⁴ In the opinion of S. T. Kaltakhchyan the objective process of the Soviet people's development is proceeding "on the basis of a further drawing together of laboring classes and social groups, of mental and physical labor, of the levels of production, of culture and life in the city and countryside, and of nations and nationalities. All social processes in the USSR are mutually associated, and they promote further development of history's new community--the Soviet people."³⁵ V. P. Sherstobitov was one of the first to turn his attention to the fact that "the social homogeneity of the Soviet people, a society of historic proportions, is growing continuously, and processes strengthening their internal unity are proceeding intensively."³⁶ P. M. Rogachev and M. A. Sverdlin also describe consolidation of the unity of the Soviet people as something to be expected: "The category 'the Soviet people' precisely and most adequately expresses the essence of the immediate task of strengthening developed socialism and promoting development of communism--achievement of our society's total unity with respect to social classes and nations."³⁷ Discussing development of the Soviet people, A. V. Likholat validly emphasized the decisive significance of improving the country's unified national economic complex, equalizing the economic life of all nations and nationalities, constantly drawing classes and social groups close together, and surmounting the differences between the city and the countryside, and between mental and physical labor.³⁸ The methodological approach to solving this problem was validly worded as follows in the literature by experts on the problem: a) If we are to reveal the dialectics of the new community's formation and development, we must consider the entire set of internal and external factors; b) formation of the Soviet people is not a spontaneous process, being instead a scientifically controllable process; c) the USSR's experience in formation and development of a new community is a model to laborers of all the world for embodiment of internationalism within the country and fulfillment of international duty.³⁹

Certain erroneous viewpoints have also been suggested in the effort to determine the laws governing development of the Soviet people as a historically new community. As an example V. I. Kozlov wrote: "Today, the Soviet people are doubtlessly not a national but an international, superethnic community of people. However, 'the Soviet people' already satisfy almost all of the characteristics of a nation...."⁴⁰ The words "already satisfy" cannot be interpreted in any other way than as the author's stand on the trend in the new community's development: The community already satisfies almost all characteristics of a nation, and even more of them in the future. Yu. I. Semenov worded the same idea even more definitely: "The general trend in development of the Soviet people as a historically new community of people can be defined as maximum blossoming of those characteristics which make it more like a nation and, correspondingly, withering away and disappearance of those which make it different from a nation--that is, as movement along the road of its gradual transformation into a single socialist nation."⁴¹ The processes that can actually be witnessed in the course of the historically new community's development during the time of its existence are a most serious argument against this point of view, and they prove that such trends do not exist in Soviet reality. Moreover they

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cannot exist, inasmuch as transformation of the Soviet people into a single nation would mean displacement of all presently existing nations and nationalities out of the arena of history. This would contradict the very nature of mature socialism, in the soil of which the historically new community ended its evolution and is now functioning.

Despite certain mistakes and inadequate depth of analysis of the laws governing development of the Soviet people as a historically new community, the general direction of this analysis and its theoretical and methodological grounds were defined correctly on the whole by these researchers, who concentrated mainly on characterizing constant reinforcement of the new society's unity. "In the process of communist development, the social and international unity of Soviet society undergoes further consolidation," wrote E. V. Tadevosyan in spring 1972. "This is the most general and dominant law of development of the Soviet people as a historically new human community."⁴² Consequently the author believes this law to be common to both all of Soviet society and the historically new community. The same idea was ventured by M. N. Rosenko: "Formation of economic, political, spiritual and, in a certain aspect, linguistic unity of the Soviet peoples is precisely what characterizes the formation and development of the Soviet people as a historically new human community."⁴³ A. F. Dashdamirov later accepted the same point of view: "The general trends in development of the Soviet people can be defined as social-integrative, internationalizing processes confirming new international forms of social life."⁴⁴

In describing the laws of continuous consolidation of the historically new community's unity, we must place our emphasis not only on the end result of certain processes, but also on the processes themselves--that is, on formation and consolidation of unity. After all, the most important action of the laws governing development of the Soviet people is to constantly improve, multiply, and update social ties that make up the essence of the historically new community, and which are the core of its consolidation and development, and of growth in the role it plays in development of communism.

As with any social phenomenon, the nature of the Soviet people viewed as a historically new community, enrichment of its content, and growth of its social role are predetermined by three groups of factors: a) the legacy of the past, the achievements of the present, and the rudiments of the future; b) the relationship between objective and subjective factors in social life; c) combination of internal developmental processes with the action of external circumstances. The basic laws governing formation and development of the historically new community evolved in our country could not be defined without meticulous consideration of both the very nature of this community and the factors named above.

The laws that are responsible for arising of the historically new community and that lie at the basis of its development represent a very complex system. They include: general sociological laws; laws and trends operating over the course of several formations; laws of one particular formation, in this case the first phase of communism or, more accurately, socialism in general and developed socialism in particular; specific laws governing development of the historically new community--the Soviet people. The laws and the trends of their manifestation are embodied within the life of the society, in a sense superimposing over one another, influencing each other mutually, and interacting. The extent to which the laws

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manifest themselves depends on many factors and, of course, mainly on the maturity of their objective, material foundation. At the same time the extent to which these laws are recognized by people and the ability the latter have for utilizing them in behalf of progress also play a very important role.

As with other human communities, formation and development of the Soviet people followed a number of general sociological laws:

the dependence of existing human communities upon the level of development of productive forces and of the corresponding productive relations, and the means of production of material blessings;

manifestation of the world-historic trend of gradual and continual enlargement of human community, this being the most important prerequisite of mankind's progress;

the action of laws governing growth in the role of the popular masses in history.

Researchers differ in their points of view on the general processes of integration and differentiation inherent to all world history, and on their relationship. M. P. Kim and Yu. V. Bromley validly emphasize the Marxist-Leninist premise that integrative processes play the dominant role in mankind's social progress.⁴⁵ There are other points of view as well: Some scholars understate differentiation processes,⁴⁶ while others assert the history of mankind is the history of ever-deeper social-class and social-ethnic differentiation of people.⁴⁷

Experts have also stated the opinion that the world-historic trend of breaking down ethnic barriers first and then national barriers, leading in the end to natural integration of peoples, supposedly reveals itself only in capitalism and socialism. This is not so. The theory of scientific communism states that such a trend is inherent to the entire history of mankind. As an example Engels noted its action during the time of the Great Migration of Peoples, describing it as "one of the most powerful means"⁴⁸ of social progress. This progress, he wrote, is impossible without "a few delicate national flowers"⁴⁹ being trampled in the course of history. In this case, in his opinion, "it is no small benefit that in most cases different politically constituted nations have certain foreign elements in their composition, which creates a binding link with their neighbors and adds diversity to the somewhat monotonous homogeneity of national character."⁵⁰ Basing himself on the premises of Marx and Engels, V. I. Lenin described the action of the trend, discovered by them, in imperialism as being inherent to its nature. This trend, he wrote, has a world-historic character, "it is manifesting itself more and more powerfully," and "it is one of the greatest motive forces transforming capitalism into socialism."⁵¹

The group of laws that manifest themselves only within the limits of the capitalist socioeconomic formation and that part of the communist socioeconomic formation that has thus far come into being also have important significance to formation and development of the new community. They include, first of all: a) internationalization of all aspects of social life and b) the closely associated action of the world law of capitalism and the world law of socialism in the life of nations and in the mutual relations, which are reflected in the trend toward free, independent development and in the trend toward expansion and deepening of mutual ties among peoples. We should turn our attention to two circumstances in this case. First,

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unjustified identification of internationalization with the coming together of nations is encountered in the literature. To be more accurate, we would of course have to say that such identification is justified, but only partially, in application a narrow sphere of national relations. Being a product of the development of productive forces in general, and being intensified by the modern scientific-technical revolution, internationalization embraces literally all spheres of the society's life, and not only national relations. Of interest in this connection is the following idea stated by USSR Academy of Sciences Corresponding Member I. T. Frolov: "The process of internationalization represents not only development of relations between nations..., but also the more-general sociohistoric processes at both the worldwide scale and within the national framework. It is represented in our country by the arising and development of a historically new human community--the Soviet people."⁵² Second, discussing the processes of universal internationalization and the world law governing the action of two trends in the development of nations and in their mutual relations, we cannot forget that the similarity in capitalism and in socialism ends with the dependence upon general sociological factors and the direction of their action: They differ fundamentally in their social content and consequences, and their force of action and influence upon progress.

In addition to those named above, some other, outwardly similar but in essence strictly differing trends are typical of capitalism and socialism: growing collectivization of the means of production and labor; continual growth of the working class's leading role and of the significance of its union with all laborers; the increasingly greater influence of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism upon the consciousness of the best workers and all progressive strata of society. These trends are in a sense the material, sociopolitical, and ideological base of the society's constantly growing unity, and of arising of new communities and people or fundamental renovation of previously existing ones.

In addition to a higher level of development of productive forces, another advantage of one social structure over another, in this case of capitalism in comparison with feudalism and of socialism in relation to capitalism, is enlargement of existing communities, which also reflects itself in the economic, social, political, and spiritual ties of the people. V. I. Lenin wrote that while the capitalist community is being torn apart by conflicts, "it increases the population's need for unity, for unification, and it imparts a special character to these formations, comparable with formations of the past."⁵³ According to Lenin's time-tested conclusion, for the very same primary reason socialism "harbors gigantic forces within itself, and...mankind has now made a transition to a new stage of development bearing unusually magnificent possibilities."⁵⁴

Marxism-Leninism teaches us that the key problem in formation of every new socioeconomic community is creation of new social ties and relations, embodied both in the individual himself and in the entire human community. V. I. Lenin also foresaw the inevitability of historically new communities. Socialism, he wrote, "is creating new, higher forms of human community, in which the lawful demands and progressive desires of the laboring masses of all nationalities will be satisfied for the first time through international unity, on the condition that the present national barriers are annihilated."⁵⁵

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Consequently the advantages of socialism over capitalism manifest themselves in the immeasurably greater unity of the existing communities, and in the arising of new communities, owing to which we witness the action of a group of laws inherent only to socialist society and manifesting themselves in the formation and development of the Soviet people as a historically new community. These laws may include, for example, elimination of differences between the city and countryside and between mental and physical labor, attainment of friendship among nations and its transformation into the motive force of the society's development, and, at the stage of mature socialism, attainment of a new level of maturity in the union of the working class, the peasantry, and the intelligentsia, and greater social homogeneity of the society and international unity of the nations and nationalities composing it.

Communist civilization is unique in that objective laws manifest themselves here to a significantly greater extent through the conscious activities of the people than in any preceding formation. This is why V. I. Lenin, who proposed, even before the October Revolution, the thesis that the goal of socialism is to surmount mankind's fragmentation, turned special attention to the need for considering and creating the objective international ties evolving in the life of the society and in the mutual relations among nations. In the first years of Soviet rule he returned again and again to the need for the party and the entire working class to organize "an extremely complex and delicate network of new organizational relations," he indicated the need for creating a new form of social ties,⁵⁶ he expressed pleasure in the fact that "a new unity had evolved" in the masses, and he asserted that "the dictatorship of the proletariat would have been impossible, had the laborers not been unified" and that owing to party policy the people had been united "into one great, powerful family."⁵⁷ The joint struggle for liberty and socialism welded the working class and the laboring peasantry into a single unit, and socialist development confirmed Lenin's sagacious idea that this union became the alpha and omega of Soviet rule, that proletarian internationalism is the most important, insurmountable, and inexhaustible source of strength enjoyed by laborers of all nationalities in the first country to assume the role of socialism.⁵⁸

Formation of the USSR soon after the victory of the October Revolution and, as a result of socialist revolutions in the course of World War II, of a new community of peoples--the world socialist fraternity, marked "the beginning of the historic process of a universal drawing together of nations."⁵⁹

Life has demonstrated the historical significance of Lenin's concern for creating new social ties and for achieving worldwide unity among laborers: The historically new community evolved as a factor and as a consequence of affirmation of the indestructible unity of socialist society. It is by analyzing this unity that we can come to understand the principal law governing formation and development of the community itself; concurrently, such analysis is one of the most fundamental prerequisites for revealing other laws and trends typical of the Soviet people's progress. "The unity of the people, their social cohesiveness," writes P. N. Fedoseyev, "is one of the decisive criteria of developed socialist society."⁶⁰

One of the main conclusions that can be made today from studying formation, operation, and progress of the historically new community in our country is that the laws governing its development are not isolated from the entire system of laws of Soviet society, being instead a part of this system and fundamentally compatible

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with it. Nevertheless for a number of reasons it would still be incorrect to treat the laws governing formation and development of the new community and those governing the life of all society as completely identical. First, comparative analysis would be possible in this case only if we consider everything associated with the popular composition of the society and of the Soviet people, viewed as a new community, and of the classes, social groups, nations, and nationalities existing within their composition. As we know, prior to the victory of socialism but after the historically new community had evolved and while petty bourgeois strata still existed in the country's urban and rural population, such an identity could not have been. Second, out of all of the social ties typical of the present stage of our country's development, the historically new community embodies within itself only the socioeconomic, political, ideological-cultural, and moral-psychological ties, as well as national and international ties based upon the former. While the trends associated with the society's relationship to nature, with many aspects of the national economy's development (including technology and production engineering), and with the state's internal development and activities (for example organization of the country's defenses, improvement of the art of war, mutual relations with the external capitalist world) are significant, they do not enter directly into the system of laws of the Soviet people. Consequently the laws and trends of development of these and some other spheres cannot be the laws and trends of the historically new community, even though they naturally do occupy a certain place within the system of laws governing the life of the society.

While the concept "historically new community" may have several different meanings, it is still applied primarily to a sociopolitical organism, one including class and national formations and existing as a social and international community; moreover we can say, conditionally to a certain extent, that this community exists not only in unity with ones presently existing and ones contained within the former, but also, in view of the certain degree of independence of the new community, side by side with them.

V. I. Lenin turned special attention to the political nature of differences existing between socialism and communism. "With time, the political difference between the first or lowest and the highest phase of communism," he wrote at the eve of the victory of the October Revolution, "will probably grow enormous...."⁶¹ Life has fully confirmed this prediction: In the conditions of mature socialism, there can be no doubt that a profound change has occurred in the very basis of the main political factors--the nature of socialist property, the class and national structures of the society, and equality of its classes, nations, and laborers in general. In this case the nature of social ties that make the Soviet people a historically new community continues to be class-oriented and, consequently, political, and it will remain so until full communism is achieved.

The already-evident nature of relationships existing between unionwide and republic interests, between international and national consciousness and, at a still lower level, between class and national factors in social life, reveals a real, and not fabricated, need for comparing all Soviet people as a community, and of the classes and nations making up the former, mainly in regard to social role. There is also a need for considering, if not the difference between certain laws (this is sometimes highly difficult) in application to all Soviet people and the communities they represent, then at least the sphere and level of their action, and the role

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played by laws operating in the first level in bringing laws of the second level into action.

Marx wrote that the usual fate of any new creation of history is that of being identified with previous forms of social life. This has happened to some extent with the interpretation of the historically new community--the Soviet people: As was noted earlier, the latter has been referred to as "the single all-Soviet nation", as a "superethnic community", and so on. These labels imply a lack of understanding of both the essence of the new community and, still more, the laws governing its development.

We can distinguish three mutually associated laws governing development of Soviet society, which began to operate in the very first years of its existence and which simultaneously exist as laws directly governing formation of the historically new community. The first law can be stated as continual reinforcement of the society's unity on the basis of a socialist structure, weakening and subsequent elimination of the vestiges of the classes of exploitation, intensified centralization of economic and political life, and growth in the role of Marxist-Leninist ideology. The second law has operated in inseparable association with the first law, and to a significant extent on its basis--creation and reinforcement of new social ties, ones not only inherent to socialist society in general, as was discussed above in relation to Lenin's assessments of processes occurring immediately after the revolution, but also ones typical mainly of the embryonic historically new community. What this means is that socialism opened up a new possibility for forming a qualitatively new type of social ties as a result of a unique intertwining of all three types of social relations--between classes, between nations, and between individuals. The third law governing development of Soviet society and, concurrently, formation of the historically new community was formation of common traits in classes and social groups, in nations, nationalities, and national and ethnic groups, and in laborers united into labor collectives. These common traits took shape on the basis of the unified socioeconomic nature of the socialist structure, the Soviet form of rule, internationalist ideology, and the common interests and goals of the laborers, irrespective of class and national membership, with the dominant role being played by the socialist interests and communist ideals of the working class and by its Marxist-Leninist philosophy.

Other laws contained within the system of laws governing development of all society have also operated in inseparable unity with those named above. But two of them have had special significance: growth in the guiding role of the Communist Party, and intensified internationalization of all spheres of social life. The law of growing party leadership in development of Soviet society had a most significant influence upon the objective nature of the Soviet people's formation and development as a historically new community.

In their struggle to implement the program and policies developed by V. I. Lenin with respect to national relations, both the working class of our country as a whole and its party successively followed, both during the revolution and in the years of socialism's development, a course of "defending the unity of the proletarian struggle and the proletarian organizations, and their most intimate merger into an international community...."⁶² The single Soviet working class and its

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- party became precisely such an international community, having recognized the objective trends in social development, and having mobilized all of their strength in an effort to bring these trends into being. Guiding itself by the law of continual internationalization of all spheres of the society's life, discovered by Marx and Engels but stated in its final form by V. I. Lenin, the Leninist party
- has supported, both theoretically and politically, every new step toward unification of classes, social groups, nations, and nationalities in the struggle for the revolution's victory, for formation of a unified Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, for development of socialism and defense of its achievements, and for attainment of mature socialism by our society. Implementation of the program objective stated by the party and the Soviet working class under its guidance, and achievement of the desire for unity harbored by the millions of laborers--one of the greatest sources of progress--thus fell in line with the action of laws governing formation of the historically new community, and played a tremendous role in its formation and development.

The action of the laws governing formation of the historically new community, listed above, manifested itself within the system of all laws of society's development, including the laws and trends of internal development of classes, social groups, nations, and nationalities, on the basis of the unity and friendship of which the historically new community underwent formation. Of course, the main foundation for all this was the profound qualitative changes resulting from, first, creation of the basis of socialism, and then formation of mature socialist society. It would be especially important to note the following fundamental phenomena of Soviet life: transformation of the CPSU from a party of the working class to a party of all the people; unification of the economies of all union republics into a single national economic complex, and equalization, in general, of the levels of economic development of different nations and nationalities; development of the union of the working class and peasantry into a sound political and ideological complex consisting of these classes and the people's intelligentsia; reinforcement of the governmental unity of the peoples of the USSR, and transformation of the state into a whole people's state; formation of a single all-Soviet international culture based on Marxist-Leninist ideology and the best achievements of the national cultures of the peoples of the USSR; a high level of maturity of social consciousness, and achievement of significant results in completing Lenin's task of nurturing comprehensively developed and comprehensively trained people, confirmed patriots, and profound internationalists. As predicted by V. I. Lenin, the Soviet people achieved international unity through socialism's victory, resolution of the nationalities issue, and profound changes in the development and growing together of nations and nationalities: Due to the nature of our structure and the efforts of the party, the inviolable friendship of peoples was forged, to become the motive force of their subsequent progress; internationalism transformed from an ideal of the communists into a norm of the consciousness and behavior of all Soviet people; the entire sphere of interpersonal relations is now developing on the basis of internationalism; the Soviet people have assumed an international consciousness, one that is not in opposition to the national consciousness of the peoples of the USSR, instead promoting development of this consciousness on a truly international and internationalist basis.

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Having assumed its final form at the time of affirmation of mature socialist society, the historically new community--the Soviet people--continues to develop today, and its social role is constantly growing.

The main law of the Soviet people's development is constant reinforcement of their unity on the basis of growing social homogeneity of the society and movement of all nations and nationalities toward complete unity.

As class differences disappear in conjunction with the weakening of the divisive role of national differences, an objective law causes the birth of new social ties, ones beyond the framework of class and national communities and serving as the basis of common traits typical of the communities and all laborers making up the Soviet people. These traits are unique in that they do not depend on class and national membership, while at the same time playing an increasingly more important role in the life of the laborers and all Soviet people.

The law of harmonious combination of national and international factors of social development also continues to operate, manifesting itself in terms of new parameters. The main direction of the objective development of these factors and the proportion in which they exist cannot at all be called parallel, nor do these factors supplant one another; instead, they represent dialectical mutual penetration and mutual transition. That which is national is raised to the level of that which is international, and the latter is embodied within the basic content of the national; moreover the realm of that which is narrowly and specifically national gradually decreases, though it will inevitably continue to exist until nations wither away.

Agreement in the fundamental, long-range interests of the Soviet people and of class and national communities making them up--with the latter retaining their specific interests--is to be expected. In this case the classes and nations would recognize the prevailing significance of the interests of the historically new community over their own specific interests, and in turn, the community would exhibit a constant tendency for maximally satisfying the demands of the classes and nations, and for promoting their truly comprehensive development.

The social consciousness and psychology of the historically new community is enjoying further consolidation. In this case it is important to emphasize that while national consciousness may evolve at the grass-roots level, the self-consciousness of the historically new community is arising as a result of scientific theoretical research, and it is being spread through the masses through the indoctrination effort of the Communist Party and the Soviet government, an effort relying upon the living experience of the laborers and their grass-roots consciousness. This can be explained by the fact that general Soviet culture and the Soviet people's recognition of their existence from the social and international points of view cannot play their full social role if they do not enter into the warp and woof of all aspects of the life of the classes and social groups, nations and nationalities, and all Soviet people making up the new community.

The above description of the objective basis for the function and progress of the Soviet people as a historically new community leads to the conclusion that within the system of laws governing the community's development, the following have

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dominant significance, and their manifestation has unique features in comparison with the objective processes associated with all of the society's progress: continual reinforcement of the unity of the Soviet people on the basis of deepening interaction and mutual penetration of the processes associated with growing social homogeneity and movement of all nations and nationalities toward complete unity; growth in the social role of the historically new community in the progress of the classes, social groups, nations, and nationalities making it up, and in development of a classless society; intensification of the historically new community's influence upon unification of states and peoples representing the countries of the socialist fraternity, and upon consolidation of the positions of the whole world socialist system.

There are also a number of unique features in the manifestations of the common laws governing development of all mankind, Soviet society, the historically new community, and the individual nations making it up. On one side, for example, we have growth in social homogeneity accompanying development of the historically new community, and manifestation of this trend in the life of individual nations and nationalities. But on the other side there is great uniqueness in the way a single world economy is developing and in the way our country's national economic complex is undergoing consolidation. The same can also be said in relation to manifestations of internationalization in development of mankind, in the life of Soviet society, and in the life of individual nations and nationalities of the USSR. Hence researchers face the task of finding a methodological approach and analysis criteria which would permit them to reveal both the unity and the differences in embodiment of these common laws at different levels of their action. Moreover it would be extremely important to demonstrate how objective and subjective factors interrelate within each particular sphere, what new things might arise as a result of this interrelationship, and what sort of achievements might be attained if in the course of scientific control of social processes we discover a possibility for changing this interrelationship in some way.

Many factors specific not to the socialist structure that has confirmed itself but rather to our country alone have had a significant influence upon the laws governing formation and development of the historically new community--the Soviet people, and on the way these laws manifest themselves. Manifesting themselves in direct association with these factors, the laws governing development of the Soviet people went into action gradually, growing in intensity as the former took shape. For practical purposes they did not begin to manifest themselves to their full extent until affirmation of mature socialism. Inasmuch as the new society represents a mature level of our society's progress, it is precisely at this level that the action of the laws governing the function and development of the Soviet people is truly profound and multifaceted. These laws now manifest themselves to a greater extent and in a socially more meaningful way than in the period of the community's formation, and their understanding by our Leninist party has become fuller and more comprehensive.

One result of implementation of the laws governing development of the historically new community is continual consolidation of this community's social, class, and international unity, reinforcement of mutual ties within class and national communities and between them, reinforcement of the union of all laborers, and accelerated formation of the fully developed personality--the builder of communism.

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Development of the Soviet people as a community on the basis of the above-described laws of the community's growing unity manifests itself at very many levels in the life of the society. These manifestations primarily include the deepening content and increasing diversity of the forms of interclass and international ties, and enlargement of their magnitude in the process of further internationalization of the society's economic, sociopolitical, and spiritual life; consolidation of the previously evolved common traits of the classes, social groups, nations, and nationalities, and arising of new common traits; implementation of the party's measures to form the new man, and to consolidate interpersonal ties in our society.

Social homogeneity of the entire society, which is growing in depth and scale, has especially important significance to manifestation of the laws of growing unity of the Soviet people. It is obvious in this case that this process is both the most important source and the principal motive force of development of the Soviet people as a community; moreover it is also the principal trend of its development.

Development of social homogeneity is now very important not only on its own but also in terms of its influence of amplifying the principal trends in development of national relations--the coming together of nations and reinforcement of the international unity of the Soviet people. There is great theoretical and methodological significance to the fact that party documents of recent years assert existence of a new qualitative level in the coming together of nations, which is described as "accelerating" and "progressing".⁶³

The following have special significance to revealing the role played by changes in the essence of national relations in the development of the Soviet people as a community today: a) further growth in the significance of socialist internationalism, and b) continual, gradual change in the proportion of international and national factors in the life of the entire fraternal family of the peoples of the USSR, and of each group individually.

The 25th CPSU Congress reemphasized the tremendous and constantly growing role of socialist internationalism in the life of our society in the stage of developed socialism. This pertains mainly to the essence and forms of manifestation of the historically new community, in the development of which internationalism is paramount, since the latter is precisely what determines, in many ways, the essence of the new form of social ties at the basis of formation of the Soviet people, and which now makes up the basis of their further development. Socialist internationalism is constantly growing richer, and the sphere of its action is broadening.

In the methodological respect, development of the Soviet people is highly interesting in connection with change occurring in the proportion existing between international and national factors. The dialectics of changes occurring in this relationship are such that the latter is changing in favor of greater significance and a larger role for the international factor in the society's development. It stands to reason that this has a very large influence upon consolidation and development of the international unity of the Soviet people, existing as a historically new human community. As a result the role of socialist internationalism is increasing, as is its influence in bringing classes, social groups, nations, and nationalities closer together; the influence of the multinational working class upon consolidation and development of the Soviet people is intensifying, especially

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owing to the fact that the characteristics and traits that are most representative of mature socialism are precisely the basis for consolidating characteristics and traits of the Soviet people that had evolved previously, and for forming new ones; the international culture of the Soviet people is enjoying increasingly greater development, with the significance of this culture to laborers of all nationalities growing on one hand, and their active participation in this enrichment and development growing on the other hand, mainly through insuring progress of the national cultures contained within the single international culture.

When analyzing the present stage of the Soviet people's development, it is very important to correctly define and competently utilize the criteria for evaluating changes in the relationship between national and international factors. Marxism-Leninism rejects both the interpretation of their relationship as parallel factors, ones independent of one another and, all the more so, opposing each other, and interpretation of changes in this relationship as displacement of that which is national by that which is international. In reality, that which is international cannot exist by itself, without the national, instead being inseparably associated with it and, moreover, being embodied within it. Such embodiment is also, of course, a complex dialectic phenomenon. The international is embodied mainly in that part of the national which has to do with national classes and which is common with other nations, the latter arising as a result of assimilation of the achievements of these other peoples. It stands to reason that in a number of cases that which is international is also that which is national, something that evolved as specifically national but then became common to some or many other peoples.

Growth in the role of the Soviet people, representing a historically new human community, in promoting the progress of our great motherland is doubtlessly to be expected. However, we should keep in mind that this process proceeds at many levels. It manifests itself as multiplication of the results of the collaboration and social activity of classes and nations, and of all Soviet people in their effort to develop communism. It is very important to emphasize yet another aspect of the influence the Soviet people have upon social progress: All social-class and national communities are now developing not only through their own resources but also as a result of the fruitful influence of the combined power of the Soviet people, existing as an objective reality, upon development of every class and nation, and upon formation of the personality of the builder of communism. The influence of the historically new community manifests itself in particular through the whole people's Soviet state, in the hands of which the distribution of all-union resources, the planning of the distribution of productive forces, and redistribution of manpower, especially laborers and specialists, are primarily concentrated. Moreover under party guidance the state is conducting a tremendous organizational and educational effort among the masses, and it is untiringly multiplying the economic and spiritual potential of our society.

The paths of growth in the role of the historically new human community in promoting social progress are predetermined by the sum total of our reality: the social need for further drawing together of classes, social groups, nations, and nationalities, and for increasing the total power of the millions of laborers for the purposes of consolidating mature socialism and insuring its gradual transformation into communism; the need for the Soviet people's fulfillment of their international duty of reinforcing and multiplying the achievements of world socialism, and of substantiating the new forms and methods of all mankind's movement toward a magnificent communist future.

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Thus the theory of the historically new community, being developed by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, is a significant contribution to scientific communism's enrichment, and to the world experience of practical improvement of the forms and methods of scientific control over social processes in the stage of mature socialism and at the time of its transformation into communism.

* * *

The tremendous advantages of socialism over capitalism are revealing themselves in the development of the Soviet people as a historically new community, and in the new communities presently taking shape in individual countries and in the entire world socialist fraternity. Such development is also revealing new sources of unstoppable progress of the people on the path to a system of social and international communities, then to the same sort of community representing the entire world, and from it to a classless and nationality-less mankind. Marxist-Leninist science provides inexhaustible possibilities for understanding these processes and, on this basis, for accounting for the laws of social progress in the effort to build a classless society. Guiding themselves by the theory and methodology of Marxism-Leninism in their analysis of the laws governing formation and development of a historically new community--the Soviet people, researchers will thus concurrently make a contribution to "helping the party resolve, in the most correct way, historic problems such as progressive erasure of class differences and affirmation of complete social homogeneity in our society, further development of the party's Leninist nationalities policy, and reinforcement of the unity of all Soviet people."⁶⁴ The CPSU Central Committee decree on further improvement of ideological work and political indoctrination also states that among the important problems the party faces today, that of promoting further consolidation of the unity and cohesiveness of the great Soviet people has important significance.⁶⁵

FOOTNOTES

1. "Materialy XXV s"yezda KPSS" [Proceedings of the 25th CPSU Congress], Moscow, 1976, p 81.
2. Fedoseyev, P. N., "The Soviet People--Builders of Communism," VOPROSY FILOSOFII, No 7, 1977, p 22.
3. "Materialy XXIV s"yezda KPSS" [Proceedings of the 24th CPSU Congress], Moscow, 1971, p 76.
4. "On Preparation for the 50th Anniversary of Formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics," CPSU Central Committee Decree, Moscow, 1972, p 17.
5. Ibid., p 18.
6. Brezhnev, L. I., "Leninskim kursom. Rechi i stat'i" [Following Lenin's Course. Speeches and Articles], Vol 4, Moscow, 1974, pp 57, 61.
7. Kim, M. P., "Sovetskiy narod--novaya istoricheskaya obshchnost'" [The Soviet People--a Historically New Community], Moscow, 1972, pp 24-34.

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8. Ibid., p 18.
9. Ibid., p 99; Kim, M. P., "Sovetskiy narod--sotsialisticheskaya obshchnost' trudyashchikhsya" [The Soviet People--a Socialist Community of Laborers], Moscow, 1978, p 87.
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DISCUSSION

Academician M. P. Kim

The question as to continuity in the course of formation of the Soviet people as a historically new community is one of the incompletely studied aspects of this process. Were we to listen to some authors, we would be told that the Soviet people did not begin their history until the time of creation of mature socialist society in the USSR, within which the Soviet people appeared just as unexpectedly as Minerva's owl from the head of Jupiter, without a basis in history and without continuity with the past. But this historically new community, which evolved into its final form in the conditions of developed socialism, took shape over a historical period of time, evolving throughout the entire time of our society's socialist renovation. The process of its actual formation began at the moment of the October Socialist Revolution and ended in conjunction with attainment of mature socialism in the USSR, when it assumed its final form as a socialist community of laborers representing all nationalities of the Soviet Union. The stages of socialism's development and of the historically new society's formation and development are in synchrony.

But the Soviet people, interpreted as a historically new community of people, have not only a history but also a prehistory. Their formation and development must be studied in inseparable association with the entire past: history and prehistory. As with any category of history, the historically new community of people must be examined strictly from a historical standpoint--in retrospect, in the present, and in its historical future. Apart from this temporal trinity, we could understand neither the nature nor the purpose nor the historical fate of the Soviet people as a historically new community of people.

A community of people of historical importance existed before, and it will always exist. In different stages of history, this community existed in different relationships with society as a whole; in different historical eras it is represented by components brought together in different ways. But throughout all history its existence has been associated with the laboring masses, being dependent upon their historical creativity. In primitive society, before mankind was divided into the exploited and the exploiters, all members of society were of the people--they all had a homogeneity about them. In class-antagonistic formations, the people are represented by laborers and exploited people, opposed by another, nonpopular part of mankind--the dominant groups of exploitation.

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As far as the composition of the people in class-antagonistic society and their structural characteristics are concerned, the rudiments of the first correct interpretation became tangible in progressive social thought in the pre-Marxist period.

We read the following in the famous "Encyclopedie" of Diderot and d'Alembert: "The people area collective concept, one difficult to define because it is invested with varying content depending on place, time, and the nature of government." Interpreting the concept "people" in the aspect of interest to us, the author writes: "At one time the people were the main estate of the nation, separated only from the estate represented by the nobility and gentry. It included within itself the farmers, craftsmen, merchants, financiers, scholars, and lawyers.... Today this part of the nation is limited to laborers and farmers.... And so, the bulk of the people are now represented only by laborers and farmers" ("Istoriya v Entsiklopedii Didro i Dalamberta" [History in the Encyclopedie of Diderot and d'Alembert], Moscow, 1978, pp 81-82). And here is what V. Dal' writes in his defining dictionary: "The people...are rabble, simple people, the lowest, subservient estate." Both of the definitions cited here are essentially the same.

The Marxist-Leninist interpretation of the people as a human community of historic proportions is a new, truly scientific conception, one with which the theoretical and practical solutions to the key problems of history and social development are associated. In application to a society of exploitation, the people can be defined as the aggregate of laborers and exploited masses, which often unify to act in behalf of progressive renovation of society, occasionally going as far as revolution.

It is with the proletarian revolution and socialism that the history of the people as a historically new human community begins. In the socialist social structure, the people are represented by all social groups in the society. They represent "a rejection of rejection"--while formerly laborers were combined as isolated groups into class-antagonistic formations, the people now represent all members of society, and their composition coincides with that of society as a whole. But it stands to reason that the socialist community of laborers differs fundamentally from communal human society of the primitive era. What we have now is a community differing fundamentally from all communities of laborers of historical proportions, existing in the presocialist era, in terms of the conditions under which it formed and developed, and in terms of its role and its historical fate. These unique features of the historically new human community are being widely studied in the literature dealing with the Soviet people (though not deeply enough yet). The following question arises: Is there continuity between the new socialist community and the previous presocialist community of laborers? A historically objective approach to the question would lead to the only correct response--a positive one. However, I repeat that the existing literature turns almost no attention to this aspect of the historically new community's formation. I would like to venture some "rough" ideas on this issue.

The continuity of the Soviet people with the people of the pre-October era rests mainly in the fact that they began with the same social-class composition of people basically typical of people in former times--the working class, the peasantry, and the intelligentsia. Preservation and further development of the leading position and role of the working class within the composition of the people is an important factor of continuity.

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The Soviet people accepted the baton of the struggle for liberation of the popular masses of the past, and they absorbed the class and international traditions of this struggle, traditions which became a significant component of the socialist consciousness.

The Soviet people are engaged in historical creativity, continuing the class struggle of the proletariat and laboring peasantry under the guidance of the Communist Party, which formerly led the people toward revolutionary overthrow of the structure of exploitation, and which is now leading the Soviet people toward affirmation and improvement of the communist social structure. Faithfulness to the Leninist party and to its program and policies is one of the key links of the Soviet people's continuity with their pre-October predecessors. And so, the prehistory of the Soviet people left them a legacy consisting of the first achievements in creation of social-class and international unity of the laboring classes and peoples of Russia. Within the Soviet structure these achievements, multiplied and comprehensively developed, became the immovable ideological and political foundation for existence of the Soviet people as a historically new community.

Continuity between the Soviet people's past and present takes diverse forms, in both spiritual life and cultural development. The socialist culture of the Soviet people has a firm foundation in the entire wealth of cultural achievements attained by the popular masses in the past, within an exploiting social structure--despite cruel living conditions and in spite of the antipopular designs and policies of the ruling propertied classes. In his time, V. I. Lenin emphasized that progressive workers of all countries, despite the highly severe conditions of capitalist oppression, create a progressive, international culture. Marxism-Leninism--the highest achievement of human culture--arose in capitalist conditions. The cultural-ideological continuity between the Russian people in the pre-October era and the Soviet people bind them spiritually as the initiators and continuers of the struggle for communist ideals.

Discussing cultural continuity, I would like to turn the reader's attention to the role the people played and continue to play in development, preservation, and improvement of mankind's achievements in spiritual, including moral, development of society. Lenin's work "Gosudarstvo i revolyutsiya" [State and Revolution] contains some noteworthy premises: Only under communism "will people gradually become accustomed to observing the elementary rules of communal life, ones known to us for centuries and repeated for millenia in all writings, accustomed to complying without coercion, without compulsion..." (V. I. Lenin, "PSS" [Complete Collected Works], Vol 33, p 89). The simple moral norms referred to by Lenin in the passage cited here were worked out by the people, and it is by the people that they are being carefully preserved, notwithstanding the transgressions of the classes of exploitation. They are intrinsic elements of the socialist moral culture of the Soviet people.

Naturally my discussion has only broached the issue of continuity in the formation and development of the new socialist community of people. It is my hope that more-fruitful attention would be devoted to it in the future.

The history of the Soviet people's formation is a great and complex topic. There are numerous aspects of its examination. Little can be done with just a single round-table discussion. But perhaps today's round table will serve as a new impetus for further progress in research on such an important problem.

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Academician Yu. V. Bromley

I would like to continue the examination of the Soviet people, begun by M. P. Kim, from the perspective of world history. Such an examination presupposes, first of all, clarification of the place this community occupies in development of all types of communities of historical proportions, from those of ancient times to those of the present.

In this connection it would not be superfluous to consider some trends in development of the basic types of communities of historical importance--tribes, nationalities, and nations--on the scale of world history.

One such trend is the constant growth in the size of these communities in the course of their supersession.

Thus in the transition from tribes to nationalities, the latter usually absorb several tribes (usually "familial" but far from solely so). The overwhelming majority of the nationalities of antiquity and the Middle Ages arose in this fashion: Akkadians, Egyptians, Latins, Bulgars, Hungarians, Danes, Poles, Croations, Provençals, Flemish, Scotts, and so on.

A similar trend is typical of formation of nations out of nationalities. We sometimes observe, of course, what might be called a direct transformation of a nationality into a nation bearing the same name. But this is also accompanied by an increase in the size of such a community owing to a demographic explosion occurring concurrently with a transition from feudalism to capitalism. Typically, in the 200 years from 1650 to 1850 the population of almost all European peoples quadrupled. Concurrently, as a nationality undergoes transition into a nation, enlargement of the latter is also sometimes associated with inclusion of several communities of the preceding type within it. The simplest case is arisal of the French nation as a result of the merger of the French and Provençal nations. A somewhat more-complex case is arisal of the Spanish nation in the course of consolidation of the Castilian, Aragonese, Andalusian, and other "kindred" nationalities. But the history of the German nation's formation is especially demonstrative in this respect, having absorbed within itself more than 300 nation-states.

It is also very important to emphasize another point: Transformation of tribes into nationalities and of nationalities into nations does not occur in an instant. There is a lengthy transitory period in such transformation. It usually begins with emergence of a governmental-political formation embracing several tribes (or, correspondingly, several nationalities). As a result a supertribal (correspondingly supernational) community arises. The cultural homogeneity of such a new community arising "from above" is significantly lower than that found within a tribe (or, correspondingly, a nationality). Sometimes what we see at first is just a cultural amalgam. Gradually, however, the density of the cultural (infoset') rises in the "upper" stratum of the community, and drops in the "lower" stratum. When the "upper" stratum rises above the "lower" stratum, we can obviously say that a nationality has arisen and the tribes have transformed into ethnographic groups of the nationality (or, correspondingly, that a nation has arisen and the nationalities contained within it have transformed into its ethnographic groups). It should be emphasized that this

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sort of transformation requires a great deal of time (in the examples of the French, Spanish, and German nations, this process took not less than 2 centuries; moreover it had not even ended yet in some situations, for example the Catalonians and Galicians in Spain).

I believe that it would not be superfluous to keep all of this in mind when considering the future evolution of the relationship between the historically new Soviet community and the historically traditional communities--nations and nationalities--contained within it. It is all the more important to maintain such a perspective because arisal of the Soviet people as a historically new community is doubtlessly a natural phenomenon of socialist multinational countries. In particular, in my opinion the possibility that similar communities would form in Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, and Viet Nam is not excluded. Moreover in Czechoslovakia, for example, this process may develop more quickly in view of the ethnic closeness of the principal groups of people contained within this state.

I would also like to turn the reader's attention to the relationship between social and national factors in the historically new community. It should be emphasized that one of the specific traits of the new community is its international character. On the other hand this community has specific social parameters. I would describe it as follows: an international community that is new only in terms of its social essence, since international communities have existed and exist today in conditions other than socialist. As an example the Indian people are an international community, but they are capitalists, having a different social essence and following other laws.

I would like to conclude with a few words on a typical trait of the historically new community--all-Soviet culture. Studying it, we must keep in mind not only professional culture, to which we usually devote all of our attention, but also the culture of day-to-day life, since it is only penetration of professional culture into the day-to-day life of the peoples of our country that makes it an all-Soviet culture (it may be Soviet in terms of being socialist, but not common to all Soviet people of different nationalities). Unfortunately, not enough attention is being devoted to this penetration of professional culture into day-to-day life.

A. I. Kholmogorov

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The Soviet people are a complex social system consisting of heterogeneous social subsystems: classes, social groups, nations, nationalities, and so on. Being arbitrarily parceled out from the overall system, each of them is relatively independent and represents a complex social formation.

Viewed as a historically new human community, the Soviet people are a category consisting of numerous aspects, and they are studied in Soviet scientific literature predominantly from a double aspect: as a social-class community of people, and as an international community. The Soviet people are a social-class community of people, consisting of the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry, and the socialist intelligentsia, represented by different nationalities and characterized by a common socialist fatherland, a federated multinational socialist state, a common Marxist-

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Leninist ideology, and a common goal--building communism in our country. This definition can be supplemented by another: The Soviet people are a socialist international community of people which arose and developed on the basis of common economic life, territory, a common language of international communication, common characteristics in socialist culture, way of life, and psychology, and an awareness of membership to a historically new human community.

Viewed as an international community of people, the Soviet people are typified by particular traits outwardly similar to the characteristics of nations. But these are not characteristics of a national community, since a community is an interclass, international formation. Presence of common traits in the historically new community of people does not transform it into "a new Soviet nation", as is mistakenly suggested by certain students of modern national processes in our country, as well as by some citizens who had proposed introducing the concept "unified Soviet nation" into the new USSR Constitution in the course of the discussion of its draft, implying by this term a historically new community of people. The problem here is that the Soviet people are not the simple sum of the nations and nationalities they represent, the Soviet people are the bearer of common properties and characteristics of Soviet nations and nationalities. That which is specific, inherent only to one particular Soviet nation or nationality, is not included within this concept.

Operation of the historically new community and its components (nations and nationalities) results in creation of national relations, which are an inherent part of socialist social relations, which can be broken down into those typical of the foundation of the society and those typical of its superstructure. As a subject of economic, political, ideological, class, national, family, and other forms of social processes, the Soviet people experience the influence of these processes, and undergo changes in their structure, function, and development. In turn, the Soviet people have the capability for exerting a reverse influence upon their determinants.

Thus the Soviet people, viewed as a historically new human community, are a social phenomenon that follows objective social laws in its function and development. Being the result of socialist and communist development, the Soviet people are developing on the basis of the laws governing arising, formation, and development of the communist socioeconomic formation. Their development is influenced by a system of sociological laws, which manifest themselves in a unique way during operation of the communist socioeconomic formation.

The law of socialism applicable to national relations--the blossoming and drawing together of Soviet nations and nationalities--is having an influence on the historically new community's function and development.

Because this system of different levels of social laws has an influence upon the historically new human community, this does not mean that this community, being a relatively independent structural subsystem of socialist society, is not typified by its own laws, inherent to its nature and determining its function and development. Viewed as a complex social-class and international whole, the Soviet people are a self-developing social system--the bearer of common traits and objective, necessary, repeating ties, and therefore they are typified by unique laws of development.

The laws governing development of the historically new human community may be subdivided in terms of the scale of their action into general or fundamental,

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manifesting themselves in all spheres of this community's function and development, and derivative of the former, particular, specific, existing in individual spheres of the Soviet people's development.

The following may be validly treated as general, fundamental laws governing development of the historically new human community:

movement of the Soviet people--a historically new human community--toward complete social homogeneity and total international unity. The action of this law expresses the double nature of the historically new community--a social-class community and an international community. It reflects a double process of development of complete social homogeneity (communist equality) and affirmation of total international unity of the multinational Soviet people. This law defines the path, direction, and means of surmounting social-class and national differences in the Soviet people as a historically new human community, and it initiates a new stage in development of national relations in the USSR--a stage of gradual transformation of Soviet socialist nations and nationalities into communist nations and nationalities, and of the Soviet people themselves from a socialist international community of people into a communist international community of people, existing as a prototype of a future communist, nationless community of people.

Today the Soviet people--a historically new human community--occupy the leading position among the peoples of the globe in progressive development of all mankind. Having built the world's first socialist society, they began creating a communist society. The Soviet people are now performing a leading role in resolution of the most important problems of national relations on the planet as well. They are a personification of the gradual transition from international communities to a single nationless community, of movement from national mankind to nationless mankind, which will affirm itself with the victory of communism on our planet.

The following can validly be treated as the fundamental, general laws governing development of the Soviet people as a historically new community: deepening internationalization of all aspects of social life in the historically new human community, and on this basis, affirmation of general Soviet, international traits in the Soviet way of life; growth of the Soviet people's demand for a share of general material and spiritual Soviet valuables (the USSR economy as a single national economic complex; the multinational Soviet state; the territory of the USSR; the language of international communication; the multinational Soviet culture; the Soviet way of life; the psychology of the Soviet people; the general national pride of the Soviet people; awareness of membership to a historically new community of people, and others).

Arisal and then dominance of an all-Soviet internationalist value orientation attests to significant changes in the consciousness and psychology of the peoples of the USSR, and to affirmation of international traits in their consciousness and psychology.

Another general law governing the function and development of the Soviet people--a historically new human community--is harmonious combination of common Soviet, common state interests and national, republic interests in the economic, political, and spiritual spheres. This is a law of development of the socialist multinational

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society, satisfaction of the requirements of which insures erasure of national differences and selection of the most sensible compromises aimed at satisfying economic, political, and spiritual interests, and promotes determination of the priority of their realization.

In addition to these and other general, fundamental laws, derivatives of these laws, particular, specific laws manifesting themselves in concrete spheres of the social life of the Soviet people are also inherent to the Soviet people, viewed as a historically new human community.

The following laws of function and development of the Soviet people--a historically new human community--operate within the economic sphere:

further development and reinforcement of the USSR economy as a single national economic complex;

growth in the role of specialization and cooperation of the national economies of the Soviet republics, and of territorial production complexes;

improved, sensible distribution of productive forces;

completion of the process of equalizing the levels of economic development enjoyed by the different Soviet republics, and so on.

The economic laws governing development of the Soviet people express an orientation toward further economic and territorial consolidation as one of the most important ways for achieving total international unity of the historically new human community.

Laws aimed at achieving complete social homogeneity and international unity operate within the sociopolitical sphere:

further development and improvement of the historically new community's political system;

all-out reinforcement of the Soviet federation;

further improvement of national administration, and so on.

The following laws manifest themselves in the spiritual sphere:

consolidation of the international foundations of the Soviet people's spiritual culture;

intensive spread of the language of international communication;

formation of the spiritual countenance, general Soviet psychology, and consciousness of membership of all Soviet people in the historically new community, and so on.

As in other spheres, the laws of the Soviet people's development operating within the spiritual sphere are derivatives of general laws. They express a need for achieving total international unity of the Soviet people in the spiritual sphere.

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The laws governing development of the historically new community do not express its entire essence: In the words of V. I. Lenin, the phenomenon is richer than the law, which is "...narrow, incomplete, approximate".* Nevertheless, analysis of the laws of the Soviet people, viewed as a historically new human community, does have great theoretical and practical significance. To a significant extent these laws reflect the history of the arising and development of the Soviet people, and they contain the most important characteristics of the Soviet people: universality, necessity, stability, and repeatability of relationships in the entire system. In this case the repeatability of relationships of the Soviet people is typified by a progressive nature, these relationships taking shape at a new, higher level every time. This is an expression of the irreversibility of phenomena occurring in the historically new human community.

As with the laws of any other social phenomena, the action of the laws governing development of the historically new human community does not always manifest themselves in "pure" form, directly, but rather for the most part in the form of trends. Each particular law of the Soviet people exhibits itself as a trend, the potential of which depends on the completeness with which the conditions of its action are satisfied. It is precisely by studying the mutual relationship existing between conditions and laws that we arrive at a possibility for utilizing the latter for practical purposes. Knowledge and consideration of the laws of the historically new human community permit us to determine the trends of its further development.

The action of the laws governing development of the historically new human community attests to its capability for spontaneous movement, for self-regulation, for adaptation to concrete conditions, and for self-maintenance in the course of its development. In other words the Soviet people, viewed as a historically new human community, are a self-controlling subsystem of socialist society, having the capability for self-reproduction and self-development. The main characteristic and mechanism of the Soviet people's self-organization is their social spontaneity, their productive and sociopolitical activity. And nevertheless the function and development of the historically new human community is not spontaneous, being instead a conscious, planned, controllable process. This process is under the conscious control of the political system of socialist society guided by the Communist Party, and of objective phenomena in the socioeconomic and spiritual life of the Soviet people, and it is based on an understanding of the laws of social development.

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The study of the laws governing formation and development of the Soviet people has key theoretical and methodological significance to our comprehensive understanding of their essence, their historical role, and their most important traits and characteristics, in their dynamics and in their sum total. We should naturally first consider the laws specific namely to the historically new community, and

*See Lenin, V. I., "PSS" [Complete Collected Works], Vol 38, p 140.

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typical only of it, inasmuch as at this stage of cognition of the problem under discussion, the important methodological task is to surmount the presently observable, intentional or unintentional, in some cases complete and in others partial identification of the history of Soviet society with the history of the Soviet people, and of the laws governing development of Soviet society (and, in the end, development of socialism and communism) with the laws governing development of a historically new community--the Soviet people. In this case we must also avoid the opposite extreme--examining the laws governing development of the historically new society apart from the general laws of development of the communist social formation in our country.

It should be remembered that affirmation and development of the historically new community is in itself one of the laws of Soviet society's development; moreover it is one of the laws that embodies the main directions of socialist and communist development in the USSR. The general trends and laws of socialist social development brought on formation of the Soviet people--a historically new form of social life, expressing the international demands for development of a new society. Refracted in the prism of social and international trends and processes typical of the Soviet people, these trends and laws came to express themselves as laws inherent to the historically new community. For example the process of formation, development, and further improvement of the USSR's national economic complex--the material basis of the Soviet people's unity--embodied within itself the economic trends and laws of socialist social development, and in turn it is one of the most important laws that is internally inherent to the historically new community.

The same can also be said for the spiritual unity of the Soviet people, which expresses itself in the international unity of the multinational Soviet culture. The latter embodies both the results of the cultural revolution that occurred in the course of socialism's development, the results of the blossoming and drawing together of the national cultures of fraternal peoples, and the general laws governing formation and development of socialist social consciousness, which enjoy concentrated expression in the international consciousness and self-consciousness of the Soviet people.

In a word, the laws of the historically new community are the laws of formation, consolidation, development, and improvement of the integral social organism as it is today; these laws are inherent namely to it, and being dependent upon the general laws and trends of mature socialism, they insure the integrity, stability, and coordination of all classes, social groups, nations, and nationalities composing this community.

Examining the problem under discussion from these positions, I would have to emphasize the tremendous consolidating role played by the Soviet multinational state in relation to the historically new community.

Socialist government, which is a combination of a basic federal system and different forms of national state structures, is one of the most important characteristics of the Soviet people as a historically new community, which is a state community, and not simply a sociopolitical one. The nations and nationalities of the USSR have achieved, are developing, and are improving their economic, territorial-political,

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social, sociopolitical, and spiritual unity through, among others but by no means last, governmental and legal resources, through centralized coordination of the efforts and activities of the fraternal peoples in all directions of socialist and communist development, through successive implementation of the Communist Party's single economic, social, cultural, and so on policy by way of state organs of authority and control at all levels.

Consequently we have all the grounds for suggesting that growth in the role of the Soviet state in development of communism, in interaction with growth in the Communist Party's role, is a law of development and consolidation of the historically new human community's unity. The Soviet people are the subject and the social-international basis of socialist government--that is, the laws of the historically new community and of the Soviet multinational state are not only mutually dependent, but they are also "mutually penetrating": The unity and cohesion of the Soviet people, led by the Communist Party, are the prerequisite of the Soviet state's power; growth in the power of the latter determines and stimulates comprehensive development and improvement of the historically new community.

Some of the most important factors characterizing the Soviet people as a state community include the national economic complex evolved in the USSR, the inter-republic social-class and international relationships existing among nations and nationalities, identical principles of organization of sociopolitical life, labor, and cultural, educational, scientific, and other forms of activity, the homogeneity of the organs of authority and control, and presence of common interests, goals, and tasks of communist construction. Improvement of these factors, which is a sign of growth in the Soviet state's role in development of the Soviet people, expresses itself as comprehensive reinforcement of the Soviet people's unity. This objective law was reflected and affirmed in its general form in Article 70 of the new USSR Constitution: "The USSR is an embodiment of the state unity of the Soviet people, and it unifies all nations and nationalities for the purposes of joint development of communism."

I would like to dwell specially on some laws of the Soviet people's spiritual development. I am referring to formation of the international consciousness and self-consciousness of the Soviet people, which is another law of their formation and unification. A community of historic importance can be said to be fully developed and affirmed as a subject of social relations and social activity after it acquires self-consciousness.

The self-consciousness of a social community, be it a class or a nation, is always an important indicator that it is fully formed, that it is stable, and that its diverse internal ties have matured. In turn, the level and content of the community's collective consciousness and self-consciousness are not only an indicator that its most important traits and characteristics are fully formed, but also a factor of its historical activity, of its interaction with other formations.

The Soviet people today are a fully evolved, fully formed community of historic proportions, one of a new international type. Its consolidation was evidenced, as would be expected, by formation of international consciousness and self-consciousness, expressing the deep and comprehensive unity of our country's

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nations and nationalities. Affirmation of the consciousness of an international community is a complex, contradictory process reflecting and accompanying objectively proceeding socioeconomic, sociopolitical, and cultural integration of fraternal peoples, integration based on trends and laws brought into play by socialist and communist development, and particularly the centrifugal trends in development of nations, growing internationalization of all aspects of social life, and so on.

The international consciousness and self-consciousness of the Soviet people are the result of those irreversible socioeconomic ideological, and psychosocial processes in the drawing together of all nations and nationalities which result in firm establishment of general, general Soviet, and general popular characteristics in social, sociopolitical, and spiritual life, in living and working conditions, and in the behavior, attitudes, and value orientations of the Soviet people. Once they are recognized, international ties and mutual dependencies, common traits, and convergent characteristics crystallize in the form of the feelings and consciousness of the all-Soviet, international community, in the form of consciousness and a feeling of membership within the entire multinational Soviet people.

I am forced to admit with disappointment that little research has been conducted on problems associated with formation and development of the spiritual community of the Soviet people, as realized in a unified social consciousness and self-consciousness that is internationalistic in spirit, nature, and content. While on the whole the questions associated with formation, consolidation, and development of the historically new community are being studied intensively and thoroughly, little theoretical work has been done on these problems. We have long needed to develop the spiritual-ideological and psychosocial aspects of international communication and interaction more fully, and to perform deeper, methodologically sound research on the dialectics of national and international factors in the culture and spiritual development of the peoples of the USSR, and the dialectics of transformation of the people's national self-consciousness into an awareness of international membership to the Soviet people.

The self-consciousness phenomenon is a highly complex philosophical and sociological problem, solution of which is associated with many methodological difficulties, including the relatively meager information we have on the genesis of social forms of self-consciousness in communities of historic importance. In this connection one of the most fruitful directions of research on the consciousness and self-consciousness of the Soviet people is the genesis and, in particular, transformation of the self-consciousness of our society's classes and nations into a whole people's, international consciousness. There is also another aspect of the problem that is interesting and practically important--surmounting the awareness and feeling of national isolation, ethnocentrism, the vestiges of nationalism and national confinement, and egoism; it is in the uncompromising struggle against these qualities that the internationalistic convictions of the people and, on the basis of the latter, the international consciousness of the masses are affirmed.

From my point of view the main direction of research on the problem under discussion here is to thoroughly reveal the role of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism in the arising and development of the Soviet people's self-consciousness. We can distinguish at least two aspects in this direction:

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1) socialist internationalism and Soviet patriotism as the ideological-moral and ideological-political basis of the spiritual unity of the Soviet people, as the ideological prerequisite of their international unity; 2) the ideals and principles of internationalism and patriotism as the means through which the internal socio-economic, governmental-political, and spiritual unity of the Soviet people, the unity of historical fates, and the unity of goals and tasks of the nations and nationalities making up the community are recognized. In light of these issues, research on the mechanism responsible for transformation of the ideology of internationalism and Soviet patriotism into an element of actual awareness of the people, classes, and nations of developed socialist society and, in the end, of the Soviet people acquires especially important significance.

The trends and laws of social development are studied by people in order that they might successfully control social processes. From this point of view a fuller idea of the laws governing formation, development, and consolidation of the Soviet people's self-consciousness would arm the society with rich and intensive possibilities for deepening the unity of the historically new community, improving its characteristics and typical traits, and reinforcing the friendship and brotherhood of the peoples of the USSR, and an internationalistic moral-psychological climate at all levels of international interaction.

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The Soviet Constitution defines the Soviet people as a community which evolved in a time of mature social relations "on the basis of the drawing together of all classes and social strata, of *de jure* and *de facto* equality of all nations and nationalities, and of their fraternal cooperation."

The Soviet people are a historically new community uniting social groups, nations, and nationalities. The social community is the main, dominant one. But the community of nations also has significance, and it is upon it that I would like to dwell.

From its very first steps the Communist Party worked for fraternal unification of all nationalities of laborers. As early as in 1913 V. I. Lenin wrote: "While various bourgeois parties engage in nationalistic bickering over questions of language and so on, the workers' democracy imposes one requirement: unconditional unity and complete fusion of the workers of all nationalities in all labor organizations--professional, cooperative, consumer, educational, and all others--as a counterweight to bourgeois nationalism in all of its forms. It is only through such unity and fusion that we can defend democracy, defend the interests of the workers against capital--which itself has already become international and is growing even more so--and defend the interests of mankind's development of a new form of life, devoid of all privileges and all forms of exploitation."*

* Lenin, V. I., "PSS" [Complete Collected Works], Vol 24, pp 118-119.

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Unity of all nationalities of laborers is both the sole possibility for opposing the force of capital and the sole means for "defending the interests of mankind's development". Is this not true today as well? All Soviet nations and nationalities have combined into a single community, but this community is undergoing further social, economic, and moral-political unification, and its unity is being strengthened. This is the product of various objective conditions, and of the action of the subjective factor.

The main element of the subjective factor, the one responsible for further unification of Soviet nations and nationalities--is the party's nationalities policy. The most important characteristic of this policy, spelled out long ago by Lenin, is the tremendous concern for the interests of different nations. This concern manifests itself as consideration of economic, sociopolitical, cultural, and all other factors.

The mutual influence of the general and particular in national life is a general sociological process, one that manifests itself with the first steps in arising of nations and nationalities. Socialist internationalization qualitatively changes this process.

One of the most important problems of the party's nationalities policy is that of making national and international interests compatible. National and international factors do not stand in contradiction to one another in socialist society, and they are not direct opposites. They are complexly intertwined among each other, mutually penetrating one another. National factors are the source of international factors. If the national culture were to decay, appearance of an international culture would inevitably become impossible, since an international culture accumulates everything that is better and progressive that is created by nations. On the other hand an international culture fertilizes national culture. It returns rather often to the bosom of the nations that had given birth to it, though now it returns enriched and exalted by that which was acquired through international unity.

At the same time, unity of national and international factors does not at all signify absence of contradictions between them. In every separate case both the national and the international may become paramount, but when national and international factors are in a state of unity, international factors play the driving role.

A correct, scientific, internationalistic policy is the main factor for drawing nations together and thus consolidating the unity of the Soviet people. This factor expresses itself in the economic mutual ties existing among all peoples of our country, in creation of a single national economic complex, in correct exchange of personnel and their training, in development of the working class, intelligentsia, and scientists of all nations in our country, in cultural cooperation and exchange among peoples and nationalities of the USSR, and in governmental cooperation among nations.

We must show concern not only for correct implementation of the party's nationality policy but also for its deep and persuasive explanation. This is especially

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important in connection with the fact that our enemies abroad distort party policy, exerting tremendous effort to spread their falsifications. If we are to complete these tasks, we must develop the theory of nations and international relations further. An enormous amount of work was done in recent years in this area. Much attention was devoted to international relations in the party Program and in many other party documents.

Special note should be made of the important role played in this very serious matter by Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev himself. His reports--"On the 50th Anniversary of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics", "Great October and the Progress of Mankind", and "On the Draft USSR Constitution"--offer solutions to many issues associated with development of socialist nations and national relations.

There have been many studies devoted to development of international relations and education of the laborers in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and Soviet patriotism. They include work by P. N. Fedoseyev, Yu. V. Bromley, M. P. Kim, Ts. A. Stepanyan, G. Ye. Glezerman, I. P. Tsameryan, M. S. Dzhunusov, M. I. Kulichenko, S. T. Kaltakhchyan, P. M. Rogachev, M. A. Sverdlin, A. G. Agayev, T. Yu. Burmistrova, F. T. Konstantinov, F. K. Kocharli, V. S. Semenov, V. F. Samoylenko, L. M. Drobizheva, L. V. Metelitsa, A. F. Dashdamirov, V. P. Sherstobitov, M. V. Iordan, Yu. V. Arutyunyan, Ya. S. Brolish, A. S. Frish, and many others.

At the same time there are other issues requiring further research and elaboration. One of the most important is that of combining national and international interests, which has great significance to practical implementation of the party's nationalities policy, and which therefore requires extremely careful handling.

V. I. Lenin provided a foundation for solving this problem in his time. In his theses on the socialist revolution and the right of nations to self-determination, he wrote: "In the same way that mankind can arrive at a classless state only following a transitory period of dictatorship of the oppressed class, mankind can arrive at inevitable fusion of nations only following a transitory period of complete liberation of *all oppressed nations*--that is, their freedom of secession."*

Lenin wrote this in 1916. His statement became a guideline for our party's entire nationalities policy. He demanded not suppression of the national in behalf of the international, but a drawing together of nations resulting from their blossoming, and blossoming of the international community through the drawing together of nations. What we need, Lenin said in his Program of the Russian Communist Party (of bolsheviks) in 1919, is "special carefulness in relation to national sentiment."**

In 1921 he once again warned his comrades that the nationalities question "is, without exaggeration, a question of worldwide importance. We must be extremely careful in this area. What we do will have an impact as far away as in India and the East, there is no room for joking here, we must be cautious a thousand times over."** As early as in 1922 he said the following in an interview granted to a

*Lenin, V. I., "PSS," Vol 27, p 256. Italics mine--G. Z.

** Ibid., Vol 38, p 94.

*** Ibid., Vol 53, p 190.

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correspondent of the OBSERVER and MANCHESTER GUARDIAN: "Our experience has firmly persuaded us that only tremendous concern for the interests of different nations can eliminate the grounds for conflicts, eliminate mutual mistrust, eliminate the fear of various intrigues, and create that trust, especially in laborers and peasants speaking different languages, without which both peaceful relations among peoples and successful development of all that is valuable in modern civilization would be absolutely impossible."*

I may have gone overboard with quotations, but I feel it necessary to recall these of Lenin's statements concerning international relations, since we still encounter differences in the approaches to making national and international interests compatible. Some authors clearly understate the role of national factors while others tend to exaggerate them. Such viewpoints are subjected to criticism in our literature. But we sometimes come across statements worded in such a way that the author's position allows for different interpretations. We should turn serious attention to this problem.

The report by M. I. Kulichenko states: "Marxism-Leninism rejects both the interpretation of their relationship (the relationship between national and international factors--G. Z.) as parallel factors, ones independent of one another and, all the more so, opposing each other, and interpretation of changes in this relationship as displacement of that which is national by that which is international."** This is entirely correct. No one can argue against this. But a few pages earlier the author states: "The realm of that which is narrowly and specifically national gradually *decreases*, though it will inevitably continue to exist until nations wither away."***

Arisal of common traits in the life of different nations is one of the main achievements of internationalization, and its significance to progress is tremendous. But it is not directed against the national. Here lies the essence of Lenin's dialectics of the national and the international.

The author does not explain what he means by the "realm of that which is narrowly and specifically national." This, after all, is a very broad issue. If he means nationalistic phenomena, then he is doubtlessly correct. Surmounting specific features that are nationalistic is a progressive process, all that nationalism affirms is harmful, and the party cannot support this. But that which is specifically national is far from always nationalistic.

How do we classify, for example, national language? That it is specifically national does not elicit any doubt from my point of view, but is it really decreasing in importance? The contrary is true: After all, the Soviet period is one of flourishing language for all nations, even the lesser ones. The same goes for progressive traditions, which are not decreasing but are developing in the process of socialist internationalization, and sometimes even transforming into international traditions in the conditions of Soviet society.

* Ibid., Vol 45, p 240.

** See the text of the report, p 22.

*** Ibid., p 19. Italics mine--G. Z.

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National differences may cause separation. But we cannot look at the influence of specifically national factors one-sidedly--under the influence of international factors, they may promote unity while still remaining national. Pushkin and Tolstoy, Ivan Franko, Yanka Kupala, Shota Rustaveli, Nizami Gyandzhevi, and many others are not losing their specifically national character; instead, they are becoming the property of all nations, and they play a tremendous unifying role in the life of nations.

Kulichenko later asserts that "in a number of cases that which is international is also that which is national, something that evolved as specifically national but then became common to some or many other peoples."* I think that these words were not fully thought out either. Why does the author say "in a number of cases"? Can we really come up with any example of something that is international which was born and which arose in nationless conditions?

Communists are fighting against those national factors which separate people, boldly scrapping that which keeps people from drawing together. But under the influence of international factors, national factors may also cause convergence. Communists support such factors, they do not refer to them as divergent factors, and they do not feel them to be barriers. No two nationalities are alike. Nations not only borrow from one another, they also give to one another, and this process continues as long as a nation exists. As long as a nation remains alive, it creates, and it makes its contribution to the common treasurehouse of the peoples--that is, to that which is international.

This is the only way this question is approached in our party's decisions and in the literature. However, we still encounter dissension from this approach. Thus sometimes it is asserted that development of that which is international supplants the national, and that this is a progressive phenomenon. We all applaud development of the international, but the international does not simply supplant the national; instead, it promotes its proper development, development of those national factors which become international. This is why we always refer to blossoming and drawing together in the same breath, tying these phenomena in together, rather than placing them in opposition to one another. We can, of course, and must discriminate between these two aspects of development, but we should not separate them and contrast them. This is why I feel it important to adhere in this issue to V. I. Lenin's statements and our most important party documents, which always pair blossoming with drawing together.

Another, no less acute issue arising in connection with the relationship between the national and the international is that of the drawing together and fusion of nations.

Here is what was said about this at an all-union scientific-practical conference in Tbilisi in October 1976 by CPSU Central Committee Politburo Candidate Comrade E. A. Shevardnadze: "The drawing together of nations and their blossoming are the

* Ibid., p 44. Italics mine--G. Z.

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principal trends in development of the world law of socialism in the area of national relations. This is a law of historical proportions, the significance of which is growing even more in the conditions of developed socialism. Practice shows that we cannot confuse the concepts 'the drawing together of nations' with their 'fusion'. Every historical era of national relations is typified by unique features inherent only to it. The blossoming and intensive drawing together of nations correspond mainly to the era of developed socialism. Attempts are sometimes made to determine what is most important in V. I. Lenin's doctrine on nations and national relations--that which is national or that which is international, blossoming or drawing together. We would have to answer quite categorically that Marx and Engels bequeathed to their successors that in addition to promoting the liberty and comprehensive development of nations, they were also to promote their unity, as expressed in the slogan 'Proletariat of All Countries, Unite!'. The unity of the working class was and continues to be one of the most important prerequisites of this historical mission. As with Marx and Engels, Lenin placed solidarity and unity of the proletariat of all nations and nationalities at the apex of the struggle for socialism and communism."*

The CPSU Central Committee decree "On Further Improvement of Ideological and Political Indoctrination" states that the task is to "nurture, in all Soviet people, a sense of pride for the socialist fatherland, of inviolable fraternal friendship among the peoples of the USSR, of respect for national worth and national culture, of intolerance of all manifestations of nationalism. *Promote further reinforcement of the unity and the solidarity of the Soviet people*" (italics mine--G. Z.). But some authors still continue to raise the issue of the fusion of the nations, which is not raised in any Central Committee documents.

The difference between the terms "international" and "internationalistic" is an important question, one pertaining not only to form but also to content. We borrowed the term "international" from the peoples of the West, where it has only one meaning--international. We interpret the word "international" as essentially describing phenomena associated with internationalism. However, Lenin's term "internationalistic" has recently been gaining greater acceptance as a synonym for "international". This is more logical. Something that is "internationalistic" is an act which an internationalist would commit.

Despite the fact that this is already the 7th decade of the Soviet government's existence, the vestiges of bourgeois nationalism have still not disappeared. They are camouflaged to a greater extent today, and they have ceased playing the role of vestiges having a clearly anti-Soviet nature, but those which can be passed off as patriotism, as concern for national interests are beginning to manifest themselves to an increasingly greater degree.

Although these vestiges are being manifested among a smaller number of people, they have not become less dangerous, since they do tend to amplify the anti-Soviet propaganda of capitalist countries in the ideological struggle.

* "Voprosy internatsional'nogo vospitaniya trudyashchikhsya" [Problems of International Education of Laborers], Moscow, 1977, p 10.

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The fight against nationalistic vestiges is one of the most important prerequisites for further unification of the Soviet people.

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For practical purposes we still lack special studies of the Soviet people interpreted as a governmental-political community of people. M. P. Kim's productive thesis that the people are also citizens of the same state,¹ which oriented the attention of researchers upon this issue, was unfortunately partially or completely forgotten. As a rule lawyers, who have done much to describe the essence of the Soviet whole people's state, deal with this topic apart from the historically new community.² Only V. M. Kuritsyn and G. I. Litvinova attempted to demonstrate the influence of the Soviet state (including the whole people's state) upon formation and consolidation of the historically new community.³ But there is also another aspect of research that evades scientists--research on further improvement of union and national statehood, which is, on one hand, an expression of the growing homogeneity of the Soviet people and, on the other hand, a factor actively influencing development and consolidation of the historically new community. E. V. Tadevosyan and M. I. Kulichenko came closer than others to this issue in their treatment of internationalization of Soviet national statehood.⁴ Some of the mutual relationships existing between this phenomenon and development of the historically new community are described in the third edition of the "History of the Development of National Statehood in the USSR".⁵ But the bulk of the literature devoted to the new constitutions of the USSR and the union and autonomous republics completely avoids this issue.

The problem of methodological interest to us was posed by the 25th CPSU Congress. The Central Committee's accountability report to the congress states: "An important direction in all the work of communism's development is comprehensive development of Soviet society's political system. This means improving socialist statehood, developing socialist democracy, reinforcing the legal basis of state and social life, and raising the activity of social organizations."⁶

The Soviet federal system does not in fact remain constant; it reacts sensitively to the concrete historical conditions under which the society is developing. The experience of history has demonstrated that "the union of socialist republics is the most viable and sophisticated form of a multinational state, harmoniously combining the interests of the whole society with the interests of every nation",⁷ and that at the stage of developed socialism, union and national statehood represent effective, time-tested forms of Soviet society's social progress. However, their further development is an objectively necessary process, one under the control of the Communist Party. "Developing Soviet statehood and socialist democracy," L. I. Brezhnev said, "the party and government are striving to persistently follow Lenin's policy of improving the state machinery and raising the excellence of its work. Every step in development of productive forces and culture, according to Lenin, must be accompanied by improvement in our Soviet system."⁸

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Mature socialism signifies a new stage in the development, consolidation, and improvement of Soviet federalism, of the Soviet whole people's state. In connection with formation and development of its whole people's character, growth in the number and complexity of problems which only the society as a whole can solve, and further social and international integration, the socialist federated state is improving today in the direction of a stronger unionwide basis and intensification of the state's economic, organizational, cultural, and educational activities.⁹

Basing itself on the principle of democratic centralism, the union state concentrates the key elements of management of social life within its hands, but it is increasingly encouraging national governments to take a part in this management, in exercising common international functions, thus stimulating their internationalization. This process is one of the expressions of internationalization of all spheres of social life without exception, which has assumed broad scope in the conditions of mature socialism. Internationalization in the area of national relations is inseparable from the blossoming and all-out progress of Soviet peoples, in the same way that this blossoming is inseparable from the drawing together and consolidation of the international basis of their life. "The more intensively every national republic undergoes economic and social development," said L. I. Brezhnev, "the more clearly the very process of internationalization of our entire life manifests itself."¹⁰

Today's tremendous growth in the amount of work required in the management of the society's economic, social, and cultural life, and the need for raising production effectiveness and uniting the achievements of the scientific-technical revolution with the advantages of the socialist economic system require that we seek ways to sensibly redistribute competency between the USSR and the union and autonomous republics, and among local government organs. Such redistribution increases the role of the national government in the development of communism, makes its participation in solution of general unionwide problems more substantial, and intensifies the international basis of its activities. Union republic legislation, which is within the sphere of joint competency of the USSR and the republics, is continually increasing in its importance. This attests to further improvement of the forms of national government. The goal of such improvement is to reveal new possibilities such forms may offer in promoting comprehensive progress of individual nations. This in turn accelerates the drawing together of the nations, promotes deeper and fuller realization of their national and international interests, and increases the contribution made by all peoples of the USSR to the common goal of communist development.

And so the stage of developed socialism is a stage of further intensification of interaction between union and national governments in solving the enormous common problems of communist development, a stage of reinforcement of the unity of union and national governments.

It is clear from this that the governmental unity of the Soviet people is undergoing further reinforcement and governmental-political integration in the conditions of mature socialism. In general form, this process has the following manifestations.

First, the whole people's essence of the Soviet federated state, growth in the sociopolitical unity of the Soviet people, progressive drawing together of nations, and so on all raised the role of factors having universal, international, common significance in the activities of all forms and types of socialist governments.

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Second, the effectiveness of the union government's activity aimed at solving common problems is growing in intensity due to broad participation of national government organs in solution of these problems, and due to development of joint union-republic competency.

Third, the high level of internationalization of the economic, social, and cultural life of mature socialist society, which is responsible for greater interaction between union and national governments, opened up new possibilities for further blossoming of nations, since concentration of the efforts of the entire federation's organs upon multiplying the economic and cultural potential of the Soviet people as a whole concurrently broadens the base for comprehensive development of every nation and nationality. This means not "attenuation" of national statehood in the present era (some Soviet authors have unfortunately defended this thesis), but fuller, organic inclusion of national governments in work on general problems, and through this, a greater role for them in solving specifically national problems.

Fourth, the governmental-political superstructure, the Soviet whole people's state, is having an ever-increasing influence upon reinforcement of the economic, socio-political, cultural, and ideological foundation for development of the Soviet people as a community, and upon consolidation of their international unity. Realizing its international essence, the Soviet whole people's state is actively utilizing the foreign political conditions to develop the historically new community--it is strengthening the unity of countries in the socialist fraternity in behalf of comprehensive progress of the Soviet people, it is offering constant support to the world process of liberation, it is persistently supporting a line of peaceful co-existence among states with different social structures, and it is marching in the advance guard in the struggle for international detente and for preservation and consolidation of peace. The following premise of the CPSU Central Committee decree on preparations for the 50th anniversary of the USSR is confirming itself in practice: "Development of communism is being accompanied by growth in the significance of the USSR as a historically fully justified state form for the joint struggle of free peoples to achieve the goals of the party program and attain communist ideals."¹¹

Because the problem "The Soviet Whole People's State and the Historically New Community" has not yet evolved into an independent direction of scientific research, many problems requiring study are arising. Among them, the following have priority significance:

interaction between the stages of the development of Soviet federalism and the process of formation and consolidation of the historically new community;

the role of the unionwide state in sociopolitical and international unification of the Soviet people;

change in the content of the functions performed by union and national governments in the process of formation and development of the historically new community;

growth in the unity of union and national governments, and the historically new community;

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the relationship between general, international factors and specific, national factors in the activities of national states in connection with different stages of development of the historically new community;

international traits of the Soviet national state;

the activities of the union and national states aimed at creating favorable foreign political conditions for the labor and sociopolitical activity of the Soviet people;

development of Soviet democracy as the principal way for improving union and national statehood;

the guiding role of the CPSU in development of the political system of Soviet society, in reinforcement of the Soviet whole people's state, and in governmental-political unification of the Soviet people.

Footnotes

1. See Kim, M. P., "Sovetskiy narod--novaya istoricheskaya obshchnost'" [The Soviet People--a Historically New Community], Moscow, 1972, p 6.
2. See "Gosudarstvo i demokratiya v period postroyeniya razvitogo sotsializma" [State and Democracy in the Period of Formation of Development Socialism], Moscow, 1974; "XXV s'yezd KPSS i dal'neysheye razvitiye Sovetskogo gosudarstva, demokratii i prava" [The 25th CPSU Congress and Further Development of the Soviet State, Democracy, and Law], Moscow, 1977; Lepeshkin, A. I., "Leninskiye idei o Sovetakh i ikh voploshcheniye v zhizn' (k 60-letiyu obrazovaniya Sovetskogo gosudarstva)" [Lenin's Ideas on the Soviets and Their Realization (On the 60th Anniversary of the Soviet State)], Moscow, 1977, etc.
3. See the appropriate sections of the book "Sovetskiy narod--novaya istoricheskaya obshchnost' lyudey. Stanovleniye i razvitiye" [The Soviet People--a Historically New Human Community. Formation and Development], Moscow, 1975, pp 123-136, 336-366.
4. See Tadevosyan, E. V., "Sovetskaya natsional'naya gosudarstvennost'" [Soviet National Statehood], Moscow, 1972, pp 200, 223; Kulichenko, M. I., "Ukrepleniye internatsional'nogo yedinstva sovetskogo obshchestva" [Reinforcement of the International Unity of Soviet Society], Kiev, 1976, pp 220-246.
5. "Istoriya natsional'no-gosudarstvennogo stroitel'stva v SSSR" [History of the Development of National Statehood in the USSR], 3d Edition, Moscow, 1979.
6. "XXV s'yezd Kommunisticheskoy partii Sovetskogo Soyuza. Stenogr. otchet" [The 25th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Minutes]. Vol 1, Moscow, 1976, p 106.
7. See "Ob ideologicheskoy rabote KPSS. Sb. dokumentov" [The Ideological Work of the CPSU. Collection of Documents], Moscow, 1977, p 357.

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8. Brezhnev, L. I., "Leninskim kursom. Rechi i stat'i" [Following Lenin's Course. Speeches and Articles], Vol 2, Moscow, 1970, p 577.
9. See Brezhnev, L. I., "Leninskim kursom. Rechi i stat'i," Vol 6, Moscow, 1978, p 383; "Konstitutsiya (Osnovnoy Zakon) Soyuza Sovetskikh Sotsialisticheskikh Respublik" [The Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics], Moscow, 1977, pp 26-30, etc.
10. Brezhnev, L. I., "Leninskim kursom. Rechi i stat'i," Vol 4, Moscow, 1975, p 59.
11. See "Ob ideologicheskoy rabote KPSS," p 358.

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The question as to the time of arisal of the historically new community did not attract the persistent attention of researchers until the first half of the 1970's. Some authors assert, and continue to assert, that the Soviet people, viewed as a historically new community, evolved (basically evolved, in the words of many later authors) as early as in the second half of the 1930's, when socialism emerged victorious in the USSR and the foundations of socialism were built. Other authors based themselves, and continue to base themselves, on the premise that such a community did not evolve until the 1960's, when mature, developed socialist society was built in our country. The second point of view appears more correct and justified to me, and to M. I. Kulichenko as well. It is no accident that the Preamble of the USSR Constitution interprets formation of the historically new human community as one of the most important criteria of developed socialism, and of maturity of its social relations. It is also important to turn our attention to the fact that in his work "A Historic Landmark on the Road to Communism" L. I. Brezhnev interpreted formation of this community as an indication namely of developed socialist society: "The most important indicator of developed socialism in our country, of the growing social homogeneity of Soviet society, and of the triumph of the CPSU's nationalities policy was formation of a historically new social and international community--the Soviet people."*

The historically new community is a phenomenon typical namely of developed socialism. Its formation marks a qualitatively higher level of social and international unity of Soviet society than that which is achieved as a result of elimination of the classes of exploitation and attainment of sociopolitical and ideological unity of the society and friendship among nations--that is, it is the final result of the period of transition from capitalism to socialism and to creation of socialism's foundation. This period, which is the first stage in formation of the historically new community, results not in this community itself as an integral phenomenon, but only as its precondition and foundation, on the basis of which in the following stage--the stage of completion of the construction of socialism and of developed socialist society--we witness consolidation of all socialist classes and social groups,

* Brezhnev, L. I., "Leninskim kursom" [Following Lenin's Course], Vol 6, Moscow, 1978, p 626.

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of all socialist nations and nationalities into a new, more intimate, and higher community than the state community of laborers in our country--a historical, social, and international community.

The historically new society of Soviet people arose only on the basis of more or less lengthy development of socialism on its own foundation. As we know, this development began following completion of the transitory period and the victory of socialism. As socialist society develops, the entire set of social relations is restructured into a collective form inherent to socialism, and it is with this that the arising and formation (namely arising and formation, and not development, since the process of the phenomenon's formation, its evolution, is not yet ended) of the historically new community is inseparably associated.

From my point of view the position taken by those authors who recognize two stages in formation of the historically new community and who concurrently assert that such a community arises as early as at the end of the first stage is extremely unfounded and contradictory. If their position is correct, then the reference in the second stage should be not to formation but to development of this community.

It is precisely in the course of construction of developed socialist society that a nationwide economy forms as a single national economic complex; the union of the working class and peasantry develops into an inviolable union of the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry, and the socialist intelligentsia, with the role of the working class being dominant and ever-increasing; full and final solution of the nationalities question, the most intimate unity, comprehensive blossoming, and constant drawing together of Soviet nations and nationalities are achieved; the state of dictatorship of the proletariat transforms into a whole people's state, and the party of the working class transforms into a party of all Soviet people. All of these, and other processes, are inseparable from that of formation of the historically new community. The formation of the Soviet whole people's state and of the party of all the people ends only with creation of mature socialism, and it is only from this moment on that it would be correct to refer to their birth; in precisely the same way, the Soviet people, viewed as a new social and international community, having passed through not one but two stages in its formation--both a transitory period and a period of creation of developed socialism--arose in this form, as an integral phenomenon of a qualitatively new nature, mainly in the time of mature, developed socialism.

Formation of the historically new community is one of the most important socio-political indicators of the maturity of socialism and its social relations. This community represents a stage of the new society's maturity in which the entire aggregate of social relations is restructured on the basis of collective principles inherent to socialism. The Soviet people, viewed as a new social and international community of people, embody with special clarity the most important distinguishing features of developed socialist society--the organic integrity and dynamic nature of the social system, its political stability, and its inviolable internal unity.

Discussing the time of arising of the historically new community, in my opinion we must account for the fact that although the concept "the Soviet people" was broadly employed both in the 1930's and later on, nevertheless the reference at that time

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was not to the Soviet people as a new social and international community of Soviet people. In this connection we must distinguish between the Soviet people as a governmental community of our country's laboring public and the Soviet people as a new social and international community of Soviet people, representing an indissoluble alloy of all classes and social groups, of all nations and nationalities, and of all Soviet people, irrespective of their social and national background. The latter marks a qualitatively higher level of Soviet society's unity, typical of mature socialism, of government representing all the people, of a whole people's democracy. Quite rightfully, the party ascribes formation of a historically new social and international community of people in our country not to the 1930's-1940's, but precisely to the 1960's, when our society entered a stage of developed, mature socialism.

The importance of deeply analyzing the basic laws governing development of the historically new community cannot be doubted, but there has been an obvious lack of research on this problem, and the approach to its solution lacks unity. Frequently, all laws that may apply to Soviet society are interpreted as laws acting upon development of the Soviet people as a new community. With this approach, however, the problem loses its specificity, and the Soviet people as a community are identified, directly or indirectly but in both cases incorrectly, with Soviet society. On the other hand the Soviet people, viewed as a historically new community, and the laws governing their development are associated in the most intimate fashion, inseparably with all aspects of Soviet society and its laws. Therefore it would hardly be fruitful to seek any sort of absolutely specific laws for development of the Soviet people as a historically new community.

In my opinion the correct approach to determining the basic, driving laws of the Soviet people's development presupposes consideration of at least the following points: First, this law must express the socialist essence and the collectivistic and internationalistic nature of the Soviet people as an inviolable community of all classes and strata, of all nations and nationalities, of all members of developed socialist society; second, this law must be brought into play through the basic contradiction of the new community, viewed as a structurally complex formation--a contradiction between that which is general (all-Soviet, international) and that which is specific (class, national), and reflects the general line of its resolution; third, this law must determine what is most important in development of the Soviet people as a whole, and not of just some specific structural component, or just a particular aspect, sphere, and so on; fourth, this law must lie at the basis of the Soviet people's development as a new community in all stages--from the community's arising to the historically unavoidable withering away of this form of social progress as well.

In my opinion all of these requirements are satisfied by the law of further consolidation of the social and international unity, of the solidarity of the Soviet people, which is the foundation of the historically new community's development. This law reflects the main trend of our country's social development--intensification of Soviet society's social homogeneity on the basis of the drawing together of classes, social groups, nations, and nationalities, elimination of social-class differences, and internationalization of social life. At the end of February 1980 L. I. Brezhnev once again emphasized in a speech to voters of the Moscow's Baumanskiy election

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district that "further consolidation of the unity, the solidarity of Soviet society"* is one of the trends of the development of social relations under mature socialism.

The role of union and national Soviet government in the arisal, formation, and development of the Soviet people as a historically new community is extremely important. We should distinguish two aspects in this issue: a) the role of the socialist essence and internationalistic nature of Soviet government, and its political foundation--the soviets and Soviet democracy; b) the role of national forms of Soviet government---the Soviet federation and Soviet autonomy.** The socialist, class, and internationalistic essence of Soviet government--that seen at both the union and the republic, national level--is doubtlessly decisive to the formation and development of the Soviet people, though those forms which adequately embodied such an essence in the concrete historic conditions of our country are also very important.

The class nature of Soviet government predetermines its socialist, collectivistic, and international essence. It embodies and upholds the unity and inseparability of the fundamental interests and goals of the working class and laborers of all nationalities, and it is fighting for the complete triumph of the internationalistic ideals of communism. The soviets are the most important and largest political organizations of Soviet society--they united and continue to unite laborers of all nationalities on an international class basis. V. I. Lenin said that "the Soviet Republic unites laborers of all nations and defends the interests of the laborers irrespective of national membership."*** The declaration forming the USSR, adopted at the end of 1922 by the First Congress of the Soviets of the USSR, also stated that the very structure of Soviet government, which is international by its class nature, encourages the laboring masses of the Soviet republics to unify into one socialist family.****

The class, socialist nature of Soviet government determined and continues to determine the general orientation of its activities in the spirit of revolutionary transformation and further development of all social relations on collectivistic and internationalistic principles. It insures creation and consolidation of the international union of the working class, peasantry, and intelligentsia, the dominant role of the working class in this union and in all social life, and the leading and guiding role of the Communist Party as the core of the entire political system and the state and social organizations. All of this had and continues to have primary, decisive significance in the formation and development of the Soviet people as a historically new community.

Emphasizing the decisive role of the socialist essence and internationalistic nature of the dictatorship of the proletariat in solution of the nationalities problem, V. I. Lenin noted in the very first years of Soviet rule that "the national struggle, not only in the form of pogroms, which even the most democratic bourgeois republic

* Brezhnev, L. I., "Nash kurs--mirnoye sozidaniye" [Our Course--Peaceful Creation], Moscow, 1980, p 6.

** I am not referring to the broad aspect of this problem here, namely the role of the Soviet state as the chief implement for building socialism and communism in the course of the Soviet community's formation and development.

***Lenin, V. I., "PSS" [Complete Collected Works], Vol 36, p 536.

**** See "S"yezdy Sovetov SSSR v postanovleniyakh i rezolyutsiyakh" [Congresses of the Soviets of the USSR in Decrees and Resolutions], Moscow, 1939, p 19.

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cannot spare us from, but also in the form of petty but all-absorbing bickering, has almost disappeared. The causes of this are: 1) the interest, attention, and all the spiritual forces of the workers and the laboring peasantry are wholly absorbed by the great struggle against the bourgeoisie, this struggle unifying the laborers of all nations; 2) the dictatorship of the proletariat is crushing the 'freedom' of action of the bourgeoisie, the petty bourgeoisie, and the bourgeois intelligentsia, this being the freedom to use the power, influence, and knowledge of the bourgeoisie to inflame the class struggle."*

The internationalistic nature of Soviet government enjoyed its diverse manifestation in the course of development of nations and governments in our country: in successive elimination of all forms of social and national oppression; in strict and unfailing implementation of the principle of self-determination of nations in the interests of their free development and ever-closer convergence and unification; in total national equal rights; in voluntary unification of all peoples into a single multinational state; in the guarantee that all nationalities residing in a tightly delimited area would have the possibility for creating their own national governments; in attentive consideration and harmonious combination of the interests of all Soviet people, of the USSR as a whole, and the interests of each nation, each republic; in successive implementation of the principle of democratic centralism in the development of Soviet nations and governments, and so on.

Being socialist and internationalistic by its essence, the Soviet government represents the political power of laborers of all nationalities residing within a given union or autonomous republic, autonomous region, or autonomous district, and not only of the nations or nationalities after which they are named. A Soviet citizen, no matter which republic he resides in and no matter what nation or nationality he belongs to, is a full citizen of the unified USSR. This is documented by the fundamental constitutional principles of our structure (articles 33 and 34 of the USSR Constitution). This is a manifestation of the internationalism of Soviet statehood and socialist democracy.

Internationalism is an inseparable property of Soviet statehood at all stages of its development. But the degree to which the international essence of Soviet statehood was embodied in different stages of our country's development did not remain the same. In inseparable association with deepening democracy of Soviet government, the internationalism of this government deepened, and the forms and methods of manifestation and expression of the democratic and internationalistic essence of Soviet statehood developed and improved.

In the conditions of developed socialism, of complete and final resolution of the nationalities question, of formation of a historically new community of people--the Soviet people, and of affirmation of a whole people's socialist democracy, internationalism is being embodied in Soviet government even more fully and deeply. Today the USSR, which is a socialist whole people's state, expresses the will and interests of workers, peasants, and the intelligentsia, of the laborers of all nations and nationalities in our country. The new level of embodiment of the internationalistic

*Lenin, V. I., "PSS," Vol 51, pp 219-220.

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nature of Soviet statehood is reflected in transformation of the political foundation of the USSR--the soviets of labor deputies--into the soviets of people's deputies; in reinforcement of the unity of the multinational state, and the unity of the union government and the national governments of the republics; in constitutional documentation of the premise that the USSR represents the governmental unity of the Soviet people, and unifies all nations and nationalities for the purposes of joint development of communism. Correspondingly, Lenin's internationalistic principles of the Soviet multinational state, which were spelled out to their full extent for the first time in an expanded definition of this state in the new USSR Constitution, are invested with deeper and broader content: "The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is a unified union multinational state, formed on the basis of the principle of socialist federalism, as a result of free self-determination of nations and voluntary unification of equal Soviet socialist republics."

The Soviet forms of national government are significant in the aspect of the problem under examination here mainly because they represent successful solution of one of the tasks V. I. Lenin and the party posed in creating the USSR on a scientifically grounded basis--that of "finding such governmental forms of the union and such a relationship between the rights of all-union organs and the republics which would most fully insure successful unification."* It is well known that Vladimir Il'ich Lenin has the great historical credit for discovering and scientifically documenting the Soviet forms of national government--the Soviet federation and Soviet autonomy, and for providing the immediate guidance to practical development of these forms. "V. I. Lenin completely resolved the issue of national and state relations in the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, he provided direct guidance to development of socialist statehood, and he provided a great deal of help to communists in all republics."** Following the road indicated by V. I. Lenin, under the guidance of the CPSU the Soviet people became a model of just resolution of the nationalities question to all the world.***

Being a Soviet socialist multinational state, the USSR is the governmental basis for formation and development of the Soviet people as a historically new community, and as a Soviet union federation, the USSR is the governmental form of formation and development of this community. In turn, affirmation of the new social and international community of Soviet people was the most important factor of the Soviet multinational state's consolidation, expansion of its social base, and reinforcement of its indestructible unity. The historically new community became the social basis of the Soviet multinational whole people's state.

The Soviet people are an organic union and a harmonious combination of general and specific factors, of international and national interests. This is why proper combination of international and national interests in the Soviet multinational state had and continues to have the most important significance to formation of unified multinational Soviet society and to its further development and international

* Brezhnev, L. I., "Leninskim kursom," Vol 4, pp 46-47.

** CPSU Central Committee Decree "On Preparation for the 100th Anniversary of the Birth of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin," Moscow, 1968, p 14.

*** CPSU Central Committee Decree "On the 110th Anniversary of the Birth of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin," Moscow, 1979, p 7.

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unification. The Soviet federation plays an especially important role in this task, since this governmental form has corresponded and continues to correspond in the best way possible in our country to the need for both bringing all peoples closer together and for insuring free and complete development and blossoming of each of them.

Competency is distributed in the most sensible way between the union government and the governments of the republic depending on the concrete conditions and the tasks of socialist and communist construction at every stage of the Soviet multinational state's development. It is important to note in this case that as the functions of the Soviet multinational state develop and the volume of its activities expands, we witness a dual process of increasing centralization in regard to problems having all-union, international significance, and concurrent expansion of the independence of the republics in terms of both general and specific tasks and administrative functions. In socialism, these are two aspects of the same process of implementing, reinforcing, and developing the principles of democratic centralism and socialist federalism in the development of the national governments.

The international unity of the Soviet multinational state is being consolidated on the basis of proper combination of national and international interests, and harmonious unification of republic government and union government, with the latter playing the leading role.

All of this is expressed especially clearly and graphically in the USSR Constitution according to which solution of the problems in organizing the national government would "insure a truly democratic combination of the common interests of the multinational union and the interests of each republic forming within it, and insure comprehensive blossoming and continuous drawing together of all nations and nationalities in our country."*

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M. I. Kulichenko's report is very interesting from my point of view. It provides a thorough, qualified historiographic analysis of the literature, and it touches upon the laws governing the formation and function of a new social and international community of people in our country--the Soviet people. The author suggested many interesting and original ideas on these laws in his report.

We would have to agree with the basic premises suggested by the report's author. The historically new community evolved and is now functioning on the basis of the general laws governing development of socialism and communism, and following the specific laws inherent to the historically new community. M. I. Kulichenko correctly emphasizes the tie existing between the laws governing formation and operation of the historically new community and the entire system of laws of Soviet society's development.

* Brezhnev, L. I., "Leninskim kursom. Rech i stat'i" [Following Lenin's Course. Speeches and Articles], Vol 6, p 383.

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I would like to emphasize that arising of the historically new human community is an objective law of socialist development in our country, and this community's evolution and operation are dependent mainly on the general laws of socialist and communist development, and on development of classes and nations in the course of socialist and communist development.

Formation of the new community is the result of highly important processes typical of socialist development. Complete elimination of the exploiters from the social structure of Soviet society, transformation of Russia's proletariat into the socialist working class of the USSR, formation of the kolkhoz peasantry, and acquisition of an intelligentsia with a socialist countenance all resulted in evolution of mankind's first society free of antagonist contradictions, one exhibiting socioeconomic and ideological-political unity. It was the social foundation of the Soviet people as a historically new community.

The fundamental changes that occurred in the social countenance of the nations and nationalities of the USSR and in their mutual relationships during the transition from capitalism to socialism, establishment of complete political and legal equality of all nations and nationalities, the decisive successes in surmounting *de facto* inequality in levels of economic and cultural development, creation of national governments, formation of the USSR, and international indoctrination of the people all strengthened the friendship between nations and nationalities in our country, which was and is the international basis of the historically new human community in the USSR--the Soviet people.

It follows from this that formation of the historically new community was the objective result and the natural consequence of the fundamental changes that occurred in the historic fates of our country's classes, nations, and nationalities in the course of socialist development.

The classes and nations on the basis of which this community evolved continue to exist and develop. The historically new community's operation and improvement depend mainly on processes governed by the laws of socialist society's development, processes occurring within classes and within their mutual relationships, within nations and within their mutual relationships.

Now that the historically new community has evolved and is functioning, the significance of the specific laws governing development of this community has risen. However, even in this stage the general laws governing development of socialism and its transformation to communism still play the decisive role.

I would also like to state my opinion on the question as to the stages and chronological landmarks in evolution of the historically new community. Inasmuch as creation of the historically new community is an objective law of socialism, the era of transition from capitalism to socialism (1917-1937) should be treated as the first stage in its development. During this time the social and international foundation of the new community evolved, and a historically new social and international community of people in our country--the Soviet people--basically came into being. This was the result of the general historical consequences of the era of transition--creation of the material, socioeconomic, social-class, political, and spiritual foundations of socialism--that is, basic creation of socialism, the first phase of communism.

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It stands to reason that not all traits and characteristics of the historically new community were fully formed or manifested at that time. But the most important ones were evident: unity of territory, of socioeconomic and social-class structure, of political structure, of dominant ideology, and of the end goal--development of communism; the unity of economic life and a unified national economic complex were taking shape at this time, a common culture was forming, and so on.

The second stage in formation and consolidation of the historically new community consisted of an era of creation of developed socialist society, which began in the second half of the 1930's and continued until socialist society achieved maturity.

The evolution of the historically new community came to its conclusion after socialism was consolidated and developed, after a developed socialist system was created. At the same time, formation of the community was one of the indications that socialist society in the USSR had achieved maturity.

The era of developed socialism and expanded communist development (1960's-1970's) is the third stage in the history of the Soviet people viewed as a new social and international community of people in our country. The historically new community is now growing, developing, and improving, and its influence upon the course of all communist development is growing on the basis of the developing material-technical foundation of communism, the drawing together and gradual fusion of the two forms of socialist ownership, the accelerating erasure of significant differences between workers and peasants and between workers engaged in physical and mental labor, and the blossoming and drawing together of socialist nations and nationalities.

One more remark: The thesis that the subjective factor played a lesser role in creation of the socialist nations than in creation of the international community is unpersuasive. The significance of the subjective factor in this process is just as great.

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Constant consideration of changes in the social structure of Soviet society has very important significance to an analysis of the Soviet people's development as a new international social community. After all, the Soviet people have evolved and progressed on the basis of common characteristics typical of social-class and national communities arising in the course of the development and operation of developed socialism. As is emphasized in the Preamble of the new USSR Constitution, the Soviet people evolved "on the basis of the drawing together of all classes and social strata, of *de facto* and *de jure* equality of all nations and nationalities, and of their fraternal cooperation..." (page 4).

It is very important from a methodological point of view to distinguish the key social indicators with which we can trace, with qualitative and quantitative precision, the common traits of the social-class structure in the historic course of socialism's development. Understandably in this case, when we compare development

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of the Soviet people and of the social structure, we must consider growth in social and class unity not only in the society as a whole, but mainly in the national republics and the larger regions making up Soviet society. Then we would in fact be able to see the process of continuous growth in that which is socially common to all republics of the Soviet Union.

How do we go about distinguishing the main criteria that would reveal change and amplification of the traits of social homogeneity of the unified Soviet people? These social indicators must doubtlessly reveal the drawing together of the working class and kolkhoz peasantry, of the city and countryside, of persons engaged in mental and physical labor, and of groups within the same classes and social strata as we travel the road to communism. Moreover these indicators must be given in concrete statistical terms, in figures which could be traced through history, and compared with the regularly published statistics.

After considering all of these methodological requirements, I proposed using the following indicators of the degree of generality of the social characteristics and the social countenance of the Soviet people: the proportion of the population employed by state-owned enterprises, state ownership being the dominant factor of developed socialism; the proportion of the working class within the social structure of the republics, this class being the decisive productive and social-political force; the proportion of the urban population, which reflects the leading role of the city in development of communism as the personification of progress in industry, the scientific-technical revolution, science, culture, and education; the proportion of the population of the national republics having a higher and secondary (complete and incomplete) education, which indicates leveling of the cultural and qualification level of social groups, and of the educational and cultural characteristics of the Soviet people. An analysis of statistics for 1959-1976 on the basis of these indicators persuasively confirms the increasing importance of the social characteristics and traits of the social-class community in the Soviet people and in the populations of all union republics.*

Some of the tentative results of the USSR's 1979 census have now been published. Unfortunately, of the indicators named above, only two are represented in these figures--the size of the urban population in the republics, and the level of education. But even these might be enough for a tentative examination of the amount the social characteristics of the population have in common in all union republics of our country. I tabulated the results of the last three censuses (1959, 1970, 1979) for this purpose.

Let us make the basic conclusion suggested by this table, in order that we might determine the influence of growth in common social characteristics of the populations of the union republics upon the progress of the Soviet people, viewed as a new social and international community.

First. These data confirm that the Soviet people evolved as a historically new community in our country together with affirmation of developed socialist society

* See Semenov, V. S. "Dialektika razvitiya sotsial'noy struktury sovetskogo obshchestva" [The Dialectics of Development of Soviet Society's Social Structure], Moscow, 1977, pp 112-116.

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Growth in Similarity of the Social Countenance of the Union Republics of the USSR*

USSR and Union Republics	Proportion of Urban Population (% of Total Population)			Proportion of Population With Higher and Secondary (Complete and Incomplete) Education (% of Employed Population)		
	1959	1970	1979	1959	1970	1979
USSR	48	56	62	43.3	65.3	80.5
RSFSR	52	62	69	44.0	65.6	80.3
Ukrainian SSR	46	55	61	43.8	66.8	81.3
Belorussian SSR	31	43	55	33.1	59.4	76.3
Uzbek SSR	34	37	41	44.7	66.3	84.8
Kazakh SSR	44	50	54	44.7	65.4	80.7
Georgian SSR	42	48	52	49.2	71.1	85.6
Azerbaijan SSR	48	50	53	47.3	67.4	83.2
Lithuanian SSR	39	50	61	25.0	49.6	71.1
Moldavian SSR	22	32	39	28.0	50.8	72.5
Latvian SSR	56	62	68	50.2	66.1	79.5
Kirghiz SSR	34	37	39	42.9	64.3	80.4
Tajik SSR	33	37	35	40.7	60.2	77.0
Armenian SSR	50	59	66	52.7	69.7	86.8
Turkmen SSR	46	48	48	49.7	68.2	82.3
Estonian SSR	56	65	70	44.8	66.0	78.6

* This table was compiled on the basis of: "Itogi vsesoyuznoy perepisi naseleniya 1970 goda" [Results of the All-Union Population Census of 1970], Vol 1, Moscow, 1972, p 8; Vol 3, pp 559-562; "Naseleniye SSSR. Po dannym Vsesoyuznoy perepisi naseleniya 1979 goda" [The Population of the USSR. From Data of the All-Union Population Census of 1979], Moscow, 1980, pp 4, 8-11, 21-22.

in the USSR, which happened after 1959, in the latter part of the 1960's (it was not until 1962 that the USSR became an urban country from a demographic point of view--that is, the urban population climbed above the rural population). In 1959, less than half of the population of the USSR in the union republics lived in the cities--the leading industrial, scientific-cultural, and sociopolitical centers, and had the required higher and secondary (complete and incomplete) education (except for four republics in regard to urban population, and two in regard to education).

Second. In the 1960's and 1970's we witnessed, on one hand, a steady rise in the social level of development of all union republics and, on the other hand, equalization of the constantly growing level of their social development. While in 1970 half or more of the population of eight republics lived in cities, in 1979 the number of such republics increased to 10. In 1970, more than half of the employed population of 14 republics had a higher and secondary education, this proportion of

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the population being more than 60 percent in 12 of the republics. In 1979, more than 70 percent of the employed population of all republics had this level of education, while in nine republics this indicator was more than 80 percent. All of this attests to growth in the social homogeneity of the Soviet people and, moreover, social homogeneity expressed by ever-higher indicators.

Third. The data for 1979, which reflect the second-to-last year of the 10th Five-Year Plan, attest to qualitatively new characteristics in development of the Soviet people in terms of consolidation of common social and spiritual characteristics. The clearest evidence of this can be found in the growth of the proportion of the public with a higher and secondary education. Now three-fourths of the employed population of the union republic--that is, the overwhelming majority--have such an education. In terms of the proportion of the urban population, six republics were almost at or exceeded the all-union indicator--62 percent.

All of this persuasively reveals, in the course of historical development of mature socialism and its transformation into communism, the dialectics of the influence of positive changes in the social structure and in the social countenance of the population of the union republic upon further reinforcement, consolidation, and improvement of the unified, common, and uniform social characteristics of the Soviet people, viewed as a historically new human community.

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Discussing the formation and development of the Soviet people, I would like to turn the attention of researchers to the professional level of the analysis being made of the Soviet people's development. I would like to turn their attention in particular to the choice of indicators of the Soviet people's development and to the use of new major sources reflecting changes in the social consciousness and psychology of the Soviet people.

As was noted earlier, the study of the Soviet people can only be integrated, interdisciplinary. In correspondence with the profile of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Ethnography, ethnosociologists and ethnographers are studying those aspects of the Soviet people's formation and development that are associated with the operation of this community as an international community. Principal among them is the growing similarity of the social structure of the nations and peoples, being an element in the formation of a socially homogeneous society, and the foundation of those social and cultural processes which promote development of common traits in the way of life of all Soviet peoples, and evolution of friendly international relations.

Another no less broad topic of research is changes in the cultural life of nations and nationalities--study of the dynamics behind the relationship between general Soviet, international elements and specifically national features in the culture of the peoples and, finally, the unique features of social consciousness, of social psychology that are associated with formation of all-Soviet and national self-consciousness, including in the broad sense of these concepts (that is, not

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only the awareness of membership to a nation and to the Soviet motherland, but also the system of orientation having to do with all-Soviet and national values). Major ethnosociological research is being conducted in an effort to study these phenomena and processes. This research is being carried on by the Institute of Ethnography jointly with local institutions of the Moldavian SSR, Estonian SSR, Georgian SSR, Uzbek SSR, the RFSFR, and a number of autonomous republics.

Ethnosociologists and ethnographers studying the social and cultural aspects of the historically new community face a number of problems common with those experienced by other specialists. One of them is that of reflecting the intensification of social and international characteristics in the life of Soviet people with sufficient clarity and objectivity. In this case the closer we come to modern times, the more acute the question as to the indicators and sources to be used in studying development of this process becomes.

The historical approach is very important to isolating the indicators. Here are some examples. One indicator reflecting growth in social uniformity of the Soviet people, in the increase in similarity of the social structure of the peoples resulting from equalization of the proportions of the basic social groups (workers, peasants, intelligentsia). But the ratios exhibited by the republics and nations in terms of these indicators have remained relatively stable over the last 20 years. This reflects the fact that at the level of equality achieved in the economic and cultural development of different peoples, given the existing national economic division of labor on a countrywide scale, we cannot expect fundamental changes in the ratio of workers, kolkhoz farmers, and intelligentsia in the different republics in the immediate future. But this does not mean that the social structure is not becoming more similar or that the social homogeneity of different nations is not becoming greater. Internal changes occurring among workers, peasants, and the intelligentsia are becoming an important indicator of this process. Such changes include the convergence of the educational and skill levels of workers and peasants representing different peoples of our country, and growth in the similarity of the social groups themselves. As an example growth in similarity of the internal composition of the intelligentsia of all peoples was a typical phenomenon in 1950-1970. Thus a productive and a scientific-technical intelligentsia were created, for the first time for practical purposes, in Central Asia and among a number of other peoples. The proportions of these representatives of the intelligentsia are gradually growing more similar in all nations.

Another example can be found in the realm of culture. As we know, education is a significant indicator of the degree to which the cultural development of the peoples is equalizing. This indicator remains stable in relation to each historical stage, but nevertheless its importance does not remain entirely the same. While in the 1930's the level of education was assessed mainly on the basis of the population's literacy level, in the present stage of Soviet society's development the main indicator of the people's cultural development is the proportion of the employed population having a complete secondary education, and the proportion of specialists with a special secondary and higher education. Data describing the number of persons listening to radio and reading newspapers were used in the prewar and first postwar years as an indicator of the use of the basic sources of information. Today the republics are practically equal in terms of this index--from 70 to 90 percent of the laborers use these information sources. Now the indicator used to

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distinguish different regions of the country and document growth in the similarity of the spiritual needs of people representing different nationalities is the characteristics of reading, the similarity of literary interests, presence of home libraries, interest in theatre, and so on.

Consequently if we are to raise the professional level of research on this topic, we must reach agreement on the indicators we use to reflect internationalization of social life and development of the Soviet people. This is all the more necessary because many indicators are expressed numerically, and in research on international and interrepublic processes we could use quantitative methods of a rather high level, ones which can fix the degree of increasing similarity in the life of nations.

Almost every topic associated with research on the Soviet people, be it the economic unity of the Soviet republics, growth in social homogeneity of the society, convergence of the cultures of different nations, and others, has an independent ring to it, and has been studied over a long period of time. But if we want to portray the Soviet people as a community, then we would obviously need to examine all of these phenomena in their integration, we would have to show the mutual relationships existing among different characteristics of the Soviet people. Assuming that many of characteristics may be expressed quantitatively, we have the possibility for revealing these relationships and arriving at a model of the growing similarity of the Soviet people, with the help of various coefficients. This has already been attempted, but we are now approaching this idea with great caution, feeling that it still does need testing.

I would very much like to turn the reader's attention to the hazard of using materials from sociological studies out of context. The hazard here is, first, that we often use data which, when taken out of their context with other data (upon which the former depend), may represent the process unobjectively (sociological material usually requires an integrated systems approach to its utilization). Second, we encounter researchers who, in their effort to accumulate additional materials, particularly in sociological research, use data from unrepresentative samples. The conclusions they make on the basis of such data are sometimes wrongly extrapolated to an entire nation, a nationality, or even several nations. As with any source, sociological materials require reliable testing. The question as to the reliability of source testing and the representativeness of the sources used in the study of any problem, and particularly the complex problem of the Soviet people, apparently deserves special discussion, as do the criteria to be used in breaking the history of the historically new community down into different periods.

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Research on the mutual relationship existing between that which is national and that which is international, and between that which is social and that which is national acquires special urgency in the period of developed socialism. Among many aspects of this complex problem, language occupies a special place. Formation and development of mature socialist society--a historically new community, the

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Soviet people--is associated with the blossoming and drawing together of the nationalities of the USSR, gradual erasure of class differences, and formation of complete social equality. At the same time, as long as national differences remain and national languages persist, the objective need for a language of international communication will exist, and therefore we will continue to have a bilingual situation.

The data of the population census showed that in the period from 1970 to 1979 the number of people of non-Russian nationalities making competent use of Russian as a second language increased by almost 20 million persons--from 41.9 million to 61.3 million. At the same time the size of the non-Russian population for which Russian language has become the native language increased from 13 million to 16.3 million persons. The extent to which Russian language is spreading through the non-Russian population in the country doubtlessly attests to the fact that for the overwhelming majority of the country's nationalities--nations, nationalities, and national and ethnic groups--the spread of national-Russian bilingualism is typical.

This process, which is proceeding on a voluntary basis, is a law governing development of the linguistic life of the historically new community--the Soviet people.

Therefore in connection with development and operation of the historically new community, comprehensive study of bilingualism and multilingualism, mainly national-Russian bilingualism, is becoming the starting point for further expansion of scientific research on the linguistic aspects of modern social processes.

Certain works discussing the essence, content, and historical prospects of national-Russian bilingualism contain unclear and unacceptable interpretations of the distribution and redistribution of the social functions played by the languages of the peoples of the USSR in the course of their interaction. Some debatable conclusions stemmed, in particular, from weak theoretical development of the conception of the Soviet people as a new international and social community. I am referring to a few works unjustifiably attempting to represent the Soviet people as some sort of new single nation, and the Russian language as the single language of this nation. In reality, however, as Academician P. N. Fedoseyev noted, "the historically new community is not eliminating the existing nations, and it is not erecting some sort of superstructures over the different peoples; on the contrary it is serving as a model of unification of peoples representing different nationalities while preserving the nations and nationalities themselves."*

Development of national-Russian bilingualism does not mean infringement upon the existence of national languages, and it does not lead to linguistic assimilation. The proportion of the USSR population (including Russians) who state that the language of their nationality is their native language has remained approximately at the same level throughout all stages of socialist construction. Even today this indicator is not experiencing significant changes: It was 93.9 percent in 1970, and 93.1 percent in 1979.

* Fedoseyev, P. N., "Theoretical Problems of the Development and Convergence of Nations," KOMMUNIST, No 1, 1980, p 60.

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The spread of national-Russian bilingualism manifests itself today through the tendency to equalize the extent of bilingualism among the different nations forming the union and autonomous republics. Evidence of this can be found in the data of the population censuses. The difference between Uzbeks and Belorussians, which in 1970 occupied diametrically opposed positions in relation to the proportion of individuals exhibiting national-Russian bilingualism (14.5 percent and 49 percent), was 34.5 percent. In 1979 this range of variation between nationalities experienced, first of all, a shift--Belorussians and Estonians were now in the polar positions (57 percent and 24.2 percent), and second of all a reduction--down to 32.8 percent. In the autonomous republics of the RSFSR, the difference between Kalmyks and Tuvinians was 42.2 percent (81.8 percent and 38.9 percent) in 1970. In 1979 this difference was 28.5 percent between Kalmyks and Yakuts (84.1 percent and 55.6 percent). In other words the basic trend in ethnolinguistic processes led to equalization of the nationalities of the union and autonomous republics in relation to the proportion of persons having facility with the language of international communication.

Researchers are faced by the important task of comprehensively studying functional interaction of languages of the USSR's peoples, the prospects for further spread of bilingualism in connection with development and convergence of our country's nations and nationalities, the objective and subjective factors of the spread of bilingualism, the mechanisms of its manifestation, and the social and cultural consequences. Of special significance in the face of progressing internationalization of all spheres of life is research on the role of the language of international communication as one of the prerequisites and means of interaction and mutual enrichment of national cultures, spread and reinforcement of all-Soviet culture, assimilation and multiplication of the achievements of modern civilization, consolidation of the international unity of Soviet society, and reinforcement of the fraternity, friendship, and cooperation of nationalities in the course of the Soviet people's development and in the course of gradual transformation of socialism into communism. And inasmuch as socialist society is consistently controlling social processes, including national and ethnolinguistic ones, the task of the social sciences will be not only to study these processes but also to develop documented, scientifically grounded recommendations with the goal of optimizing these processes. In the conditions of mature socialism, we must promote development of bilingualism, and primarily national-Russian bilingualism, without infringing in any way upon the interests of the native languages of the USSR's peoples, and with an effort to create maximally favored conditions for assimilation of Russian by non-Russian people, in accordance with the real need they experience for such assimilation. Much work is being done in this direction in the country. A graphical example of this can be found in Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan, and some other union republics. "Our task," noted Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee First Secretary G. A. Aliyev, "is to see that every resident of the republic would learn Russian well, so that Russian would become as native to every representative of the Azerbaijan people as is their own language. We view this task to be one of the most important directions in all of our political and ideological work in the masses, aimed at improving national relations and strengthening and deepening the international unity of the Soviet people."*

* Aliyev, G., "The Remarkable Fruits of Leninist Friendship of Peoples," KOMMUNIST, No 10, 1980, p 25.

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As general theoretical research examining predominantly the methodological problems of linguistic contacts widened, the need for organizing broad empirical research with the goal of studying concrete linguistic life and the factors of social development of the languages of the USSR's people became obvious. In this case the task of revealing the real distribution of the social functions of these languages in the diverse spheres of life acquired special importance. We must know, with sufficient definiteness, how and when the need for bilingualism manifests itself and satisfies itself in different nations, and in different population groups united on the basis of social, professional, sexual, age, territorial, and other characteristics.

There are variations in the amount of research that has been conducted on the basic trends in functional development and interaction of the languages of the USSR's peoples and on the level of their social functions in different spheres of life: This research is more complete in relation to book publishing and school training, and less complete in relation to management, legal proceedings, the work of the mass media, production, personal life, and many other important areas. Even in a relatively well-studied area such as, for example, publication of books in the national languages of the USSR, research pursuing practical goals remains important. As we know, an important prerequisite for growth of the country's overall scientific and spiritual potential in the course of the scientific-technical revolution is exchange of the achievements and experience of all of our republics. But, as Academician P. N. Fedoseyev emphasized, "we cannot recognize it to be normal that a significant proportion of the general scientific works are published in the republics only in the national languages, and consequently that they may be used only by a limited range of readers who know these languages."* In addition to national-language publications, we must simultaneously publish, in the language of international communication, those works that have major scientific and practical significance.

Inasmuch as the rates of spread of bilingualism differ and the particular combinations of factors responsible for its development vary among different nations, nationalities, and national and ethnic groups, it would be suitable to deeply study the general and specific factors of national-Russian bilingualism in all of its manifestations.

Research on the relationships between contemporary linguistic and cultural processes, including between linguistic and cultural activity, requires special attention. On the whole this problem is a complex one, and it is part of the broader topic of language and culture. Feedforwards and feedbacks between social development of language and the function of culture are graphically revealed in verbal and cultural activity.

Ethnosociological research has shown that practical use of the second language in bilingualism has greater sociocultural significance than does the simple knowledge of the second language. Everyone realizes today that many representatives of non-Russian peoples seriously need a good knowledge of Russian, but the most effective ways of solving this problem are not fully clear. This problem is usually

* Fedoseyev, P. N., Op. cit., pp 67-68.

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left for the school to handle, with the expectation that it would solve the bilingualism problem concurrently with performing its direct functions. Much has been said and done in the last few years to improve Russian language teaching in the national school. This is extremely important and necessary. But the school can only improve linguistic competency: Active speech is more significant and valuable to mastery of a second language.

Some of the prerequisites for multidimensional analysis and modeling of the processes of bilingualism have been created. One significant condition for use of these methods is that of developing the theoretical fundamentals of integrated analysis of bilingualism, to include analysis of its individual components.

The first serious steps have been made in the effort to organize research on the problems of bilingualism. There is much to do to coordinate the efforts of specialists representing different branches of knowledge and working in various academic and nonacademic institutions. There is much significance to expanding the source base--to publishing, in detailed form, the data of the 1979 population census, to broadly introducing the extensive data of ethnosociological questionnaires into scientific turnover, and to expanding publication of departmental statistics, which should reflect the linguistic aspects of national and sociocultural development of our country's republics to a deeper extent than before.

A qualitatively new stage is beginning in the development of ethnolinguistic processes, and their most important components--the processes of bilingualism--in the conditions of mature socialism. Growth in the social significance of the international language of communication stems from a real need of the country's whole population, and mainly from the existence of a historically new community--the Soviet people, as well as from the expanding influence of the scientific-technical revolution upon all spheres of life, deepening of international contacts, growth of the cultural and skill level of all nations and nationalities of the USSR, and indoctrination of the growing generations in the spirit of patriotism and internationalism. Deeper integrated research on the processes of bilingualism must be tailored to this new stage in the development of the country's linguistic life.

From the Editors

Naturally we cannot complete the discussion of such a great and complex problem--formation and development of a historically new community, the Soviet people--within the limits of a single round-table meeting.

Preparing for it, the editor's office mainly tried to see that the range of issues which must be studied in order to permit determination of the essence of this complex historical phenomenon would be defined in the course of the discussion.

From all appearances, the discussion did achieve this purpose.

The participants of the round table suggested their definitions of the laws governing formation and development of a historically

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new community--the Soviet people. They attempted to resolve the issue as to the mutual relationships existing between these laws and those governing formation and development of the Soviet society as a whole, to describe the fundamental principles of revealing the dominant laws of the historically new community, to reveal the factors responsible for its function, to determine the stages of its development, and so on.

The directions of further research on the topic were defined and the most effective methods for analyzing it were suggested in a number of the responses.

No all solutions suggested by the participants of the round-table discussion are undebatable. However, they do provide the grounds for further thought and deeper study of the complex processes and phenomena associated with formation and development of the social and international community that has evolved in our country, an understanding of which would have considerable significance, not only scientific but also practical.

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